E.P. Thompson Interview • The Perils of Soviet Peace Work

·NUCLEAR· TIMES

JUNE 1983 • $2.00

DIRECT ACTION

BUILDING RESISTANCE

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TIMES

LETTERS

On the Fritz

In your "Arms Control & The Candidates" article [April '83] you have one glaring omission in an otherwise fine survey. Walter Mondale in an April '82 interview in the *Washington Post* endorsed Reagan's refusal to rule out the "first use" of nuclear weapons in case of a war in Europe. Mondale told the *Post* a U.S. renunciation of the "first-strike" policy might make the Soviet Union more apt to invade Western Europe. Keep an eye on Mondale. . . .

—Robert Roth
Lansing, Mich.

Shoddy Work

I suspect it was simply shoddy reporting, but it's a damned shame that *Nuclear Times* [April '83] totally misrepresented the UAW's position on the nuclear freeze. Contrary to Bruce Shapiro's report, the UAW and President Douglas Fraser are allies of the freeze movement.

On March 8, 1983, the UAW sent a letter to members of Congress urging support for the Zablocki nuclear freeze resolution. The official UAW position on the freeze is contained in a resolution advocated by Doug Fraser and passed by our International Executive Board on June 9, 1982. That resolution reads in part: "The UAW shares the principles of the nuclear freeze movement, which continues to perform a constructive role in building public pressure for arms limitations. We believe the emphasis must be on moving promptly for actual reductions in the levels of nuclear weapons."

The facts don't hold very well with Shapiro's report that Doug Fraser "beat back a freeze resolution in his own union, and will not discuss the issue even with close allies." You owe Doug Fraser and the UAW an apology.

—David E. Mitchell
Director, UAW Public Relations
New York, N.Y.

Bruce Shapiro replies: I never denied Fraser's and the UAW's historic position as "allies of the freeze movement." What I said was that, at the time the article was written, the UAW was not in the forefront of unions working for the freeze. The June 9, 1982, UAW position paper did not endorse the freeze; instead it called for passage of SALT II. The union's strong endorsement of the Zablocki amendment in March 1983 occurred just after my article was completed. Now, Gene Carroll, labor coordinator for the national freeze campaign, tells me: "Concern about the UAW's support for the freeze probably should be put to rest."

Peace Work

I think it is a mistake to create any heavy linkage between jobs and peace [April '83]. While it may have an immediate emotional appeal, it will not serve the long-term interests of the freeze movement—not if we speak of "jobs" in the traditional sense of industrial labor which concerned the 19th and early 20th century social movements.

Today, high technology and robots are replacing unskilled human labor in factory production. No matter what our economy looks like after a nuclear freeze, there will be little hope that industry will provide the jobs that many of the unemployed have been trained for. The percentage of our work force to which labor unions even apply will continue to shrink as our work turns toward more creative and service-oriented tasks.

Just economic distribution is, of course, a central concern. But expecting industry to provide a living for the masses is rapidly becoming nonsense and we should shed our illusions of such.

—Gordon L. Anderson
Claremont, Cal.

Whites Only?

Thank you for your article on Herbert Sussan and his quest for film footage depicting the truth about Hiroshima and Nagasaki [March '83]. I always wondered where the first atomic bomb was dropped. From most of the discussions in the antinuclear weapons movement, you'd think the only atomic victims were and will be white Elk Clubbers, white intellectuals and white accountants for responsible nuclear policies. But I guess that's diversity.

This is indicative of the overall status of Third World people's issues and concerns in the movement. And it seems to be a neglect inherent in your publication's editorial policy. A little here and

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there on Micronesia. A little less on the survivors. The clincher was the issue in which the cover story was on nuclear victims and mentioned absolutely nothing about Japanese, Korean or Japanese American atomic bomb victims.

But the Sussan article is a positive step. Perhaps in the future, you might want to publish an article directly on the experience of Japanese atomic bomb victims rather than the experience of a white person who had some interaction with them. It would be a quantum leap.

—Renee Tajima
New York, N.Y.

More Power to Us

Rustum Roy's comment in a letter about linking the issues of nuclear power and weapons [April '83] is not only insensitive but politically naive. "Nuclear power is by comparison a minor issue and essentially dead in the United States anyway." Ask those people who live in central Pennsylvania four years after the accident at TMI whether or not the effects of a nuclear accident are minor. Ask those people trying to stop the Shoreham, Diablo Canyon, Hope Creek, Seabrook, and the other nuclear plants now under construction whether or not nuclear power is dead.

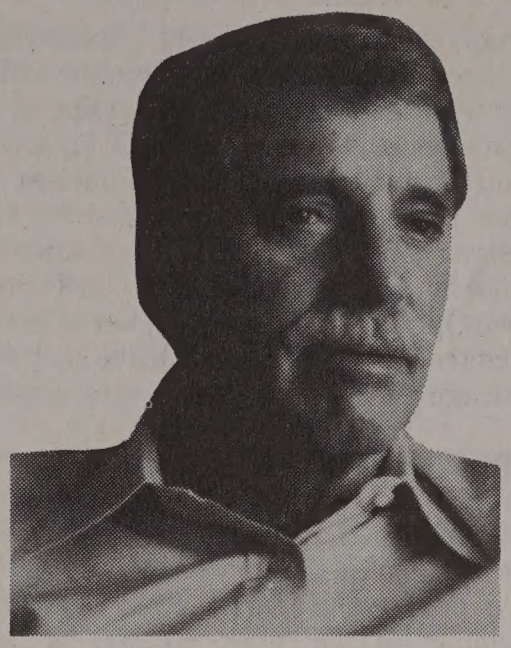
The commercial nuclear industry, aided by the federal government, is planning a full-out campaign to push nuclear power in this country. The nuclear industry is also selling nuclear technology to other countries, thereby increasing the chances of proliferation. The nuclear power industry has been dealt a serious blow by nuclear accidents, increasing costs and the antinuclear movement, but it is not dead, even though the majority of people are opposed to it.

In the height of the antinuclear power movement in the late 1970s many of us continually pressed that nuclear weapons opposition was integral to our protest against nuclear power. We were told by many that the American public could never come out against nuclear weapons. We were told the majority are opposed to nuclear power but not weapons, therefore don't resist nuclear weapons. They were wrong. The nuclear freeze movement is the result of the hard work of many activists who continued to press an unpopular issue.

A nuclear war is the ultimate horror but that does not mean we should accept the other horrors along the way. There will always be some who consider their issue the "absolute priority." We need more people who understand the connection between these issues and continue to link them.

—Kate Donnelly
New Vernon, N.J.

RACE TO OBLIVION



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•EARLY WARNINGS•

LIVE AND LET DIE: It should be cause for some celebration. "A major institution for higher education in this country has, for the first time, formally addressed itself to educating the public about the nuclear arms debate," reads the press release from Bantam Books and Harvard University Press. They are publishing this month (in paperback and hardcover, respectively) *Living With Nuclear Weapons*, a potential bestseller written by several noted Harvard scholars at the personal request of Derek Bok, president of the university.

Unfortunately, the title of the book says it all; it is a little more than a how-to guide. The authors (former National Security Council Coordinator Samuel P. Huntington among them) counsel against what they call "atomic escapism" and in favor of virtually every new weapons system coming down the pike. They actually write: "It is better to be 'Armed than Harmed.' " What makes this message insidious is that it is being promoted as an "objective account" and "the first common sense guide."

Liz Bernstein of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies in Brookline, Massachusetts, comments: "It presents a very biased account which the average reader is not equipped to evaluate. And instead of inspiring active thought and participation on nuclear issues, the book encourages passivity and resignation, both in its tone of superior wisdom and its fatalistic conclusions about nuclear realities. The net effect of such teaching is to want to leave such discouraging matters to the experts, again."

HAPPY ANNIVERSARY: "This is it! *The* film of *the* event of the disarmament movement—the largest demonstration for peace in the history of the world!" So says producer Robert Richter about the opening of *In Our Hands*, a feature-length documentary about last year's epic protest in New York. The film, co-produced by Stan Warnow, who did the main editing for the films *Woodstock*, *Hair* and *Ragtime*, will premiere June 11 in Washington, D.C., and the next day in New York. *(See Calendar, June 11).*

Some of the prominent speakers and entertainers that appear in the film are James Taylor, Randall Forsberg, Helen Caldicott, Holly Near, Rita Marley, Pete Seeger, Representative Ed Markey and Roy Scheider. Fans of Bruce Springsteen, Jackson Browne and Linda Ronstadt, however, will be disappointed to learn that the performers' managers refused to let film crews shoot footage of the rock stars at the rally.

Hundreds of people in the New York film community donated equipment, services, and, in some cases, their own film stock to the project. Forty-one film crews, including some of what Richter calls "the top in the business" were involved in shooting the film. Funding came from a wide range of individuals and institutions, including Warner Brothers Inc., which is one of several major film companies that has expressed interest in distributing the film nationwide.

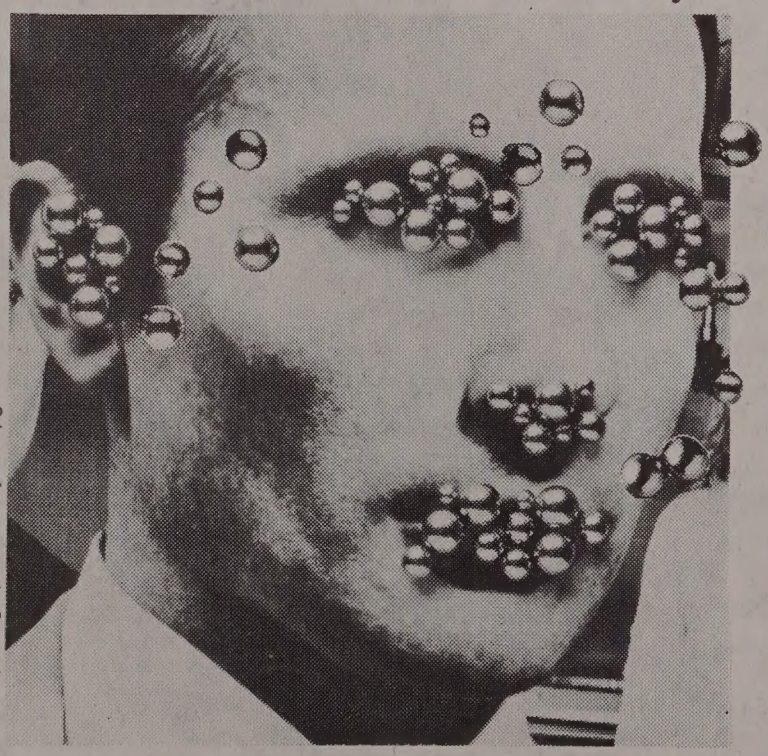
GRAPHIC COUNTDOWN: Members of the New Haven Campaign for a Nuclear Arms Freeze are counting down the months to the scheduled December 1983 deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe—and they're making sure that the whole city of New Haven

The nuclear establishment got to 1984 a bit early.

Attaching terms like "normal aberration" to Three Mile Island or "surgical strike" to multi-megaton bombs, the advocates of nuclear technology have been practicing their own version of Orwell's "newspeak" for years. Now three journalists show how this "nukespeak" was created and how it has distorted a life-or-death national debate.

"This book should be read by everyone—supporters as well as opponents of nuclear power."—Benjamin Spock, M.D.

"A splendid review of the subject—carefully researched, rich in anecdotes, and powerfully presented."—Carl Sagan



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MONTHS
TO GO
In December 1983 the danger of a nuclear holocaust will increase a hundredfold.
At that time President Reagan will put new missiles in Europe that will give the U.S. a great advantage over the soviets. But this advantage is really a danger for all.
The new missiles, the Cruise and Pershing II's are accurate enough to pinpoint and knock out most of the Soviet's missiles. Until now neither the U.S. nor the U.S.S.R. would ever dream of striking first for fear of a massive counter blow. There was balance. The new missiles will upset the balance.
Besides accuracy, the missiles have other destabilizing characteristics. The Cruise missiles are undetectable because they fly below radar. They are also so small and easily hidden that their number and location could not be verified in a future arms reduction agreement. The Pershing II's would be stationed in West Germany, five minutes from their targets, the Soviet missiles. What terror we Americans would feel if we knew our nuclear defense could be destroyed with less than five minutes warning!
The National Freeze movement is calling on the U.S. to delay installing the new missiles until a comprehensive freeze can be negotiated.
Call the New Haven Freeze Campaign Office, 865-6937, for further information.
THE NEW HAVEN CAMPAIGN FOR A NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE
865 Chapel St. #215 New Haven, CT 06510 865-6937

joins them. Since April 16, 1200 posters emblazoned in red ink with the words "7 MONTHS TO GO," have been plastered on telephone poles, fences, and, where allowed, shop windows in every New Haven neighborhood. The posters give a brief description of the missiles, and call on the United States to delay installing the weapons in Europe until a comprehensive freeze can be negotiated.

"We plan to put new posters up at the five-month mark in June," says Lindsay Wrede, Campaign staff person. For the last 90 days of the countdown the posters will be updated monthly.

Other cities in Connecticut are adopting the poster for similar campaigns. "The response has been terrific," says Wrede. "We've gotten a lot of calls from people who so far haven't been involved in the freeze campaign, but who now want to help." Two camera-ready mechanicals of the poster have been made by its designer, Phil Simon, and are available to any group interested in printing its own posters. The mechanicals cost $7.50 and can be ordered from the New Haven Campaign for a Nuclear Arms Freeze, 865 Chapel Street #215, New Haven, CT 06510.

CURRICULUM CONTROVERSY: A proposed curriculum for schoolchildren on how to handle emergencies, designed by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, has come under attack from peace groups for its rather benign views on the effects of a nuclear attack. Now, one of the antidotes to that message, a lesson plan distributed to 1500 teachers by the National Education Association (and published in conjunction with the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Massachusetts Teachers Association) has itself been challenged.

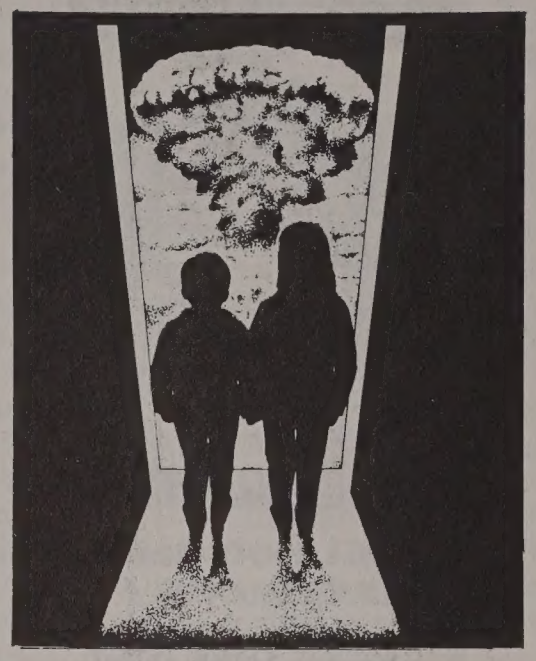
In an editorial on April 5, the *Washington Post* labeled the 144-page curriculum, *Choices: A Unit on Conflict and War*, "political indoctrination." Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, later called the NEA lesson plan "lopsided propaganda"—no different from the Moral Majority asking school teachers to circulate its views on political and moral issues. Shanker takes exception to several specific sections of the plan, including what he views as its assertion that the United States possesses nuclear superiority. Natalie Goldring of UCS defends the curriculum's approach and its balanced treatment of the arms race. A spokeswoman for the NEA in New York, Linda Rosenblatt, notes Shanker's generally "hawkish" political position in the past and attributes his views on the curriculum mainly to an organizational rivalry between the AFT and NEA. "This isn't an issue," she says, "that organizational rivalries should touch."

SAGAN WRITES: Noted astronomer and author Carl Sagan is probably working more with typewriters than telescopes these days. He's writing a novel, called *Contact*, and a non-fiction book, *Nucleus*, due to be published by Random House in 1984, "is already well-blocked out," according to Sagan's agent, Scott Meredith. The book begins with an elementary description of an atom and progresses to discussions of the possible legitimate uses of atomic energy. But, says Meredith, "the most significant part of the book deals with the dangers of nuclear warfare. That's the thrust of *Nucleus*."

Meredith says that they are "95 percent sure" that the book will be made into a television series, this time not on PBS (in the tradition of *Cosmos*) but on a commercial network. Deals are being finalized now, and Meredith says that the series will probably be aired early in 1985. Why the delay? "The show promises to be controversial," Meredith says, "and while no one has actually *said* this, the feeling is that the networks just wouldn't go near *Nucleus* during an election year."

HELP FROM HIROSHIMA: Some 1000 American survivors of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who have been denied medical benefits by the U.S. government, will receive free attention from Japanese medical teams this month. Specialists in radiation disease from Hiroshima will offer free medical check-ups for American *hibakusha* in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and Honolulu. *(See Calendar, Nationwide Events.)* "We're lucky to get this atten-

Nuclear Survival Films



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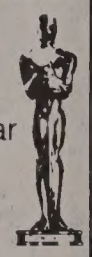

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tion from Japan," says Kanji Kuramoto, who for the past 12 years, working with the Japanese American Citizens League, has sought congressional legislation that would provide benefits for the *hibakusha*. "Japan gives free medical care to all A-bomb survivors regardless of nationality," Kuramoto says. "Some American survivors have taken advantage of that, but most of us can't afford the financial and psychological strain of a trip to Japan."

This month's visit by a Japanese medical team will be the fourth in the last eight years and, due to very limited funding, may be the last. Most of the American *hibakusha* live on the West Coast and in Hawaii.

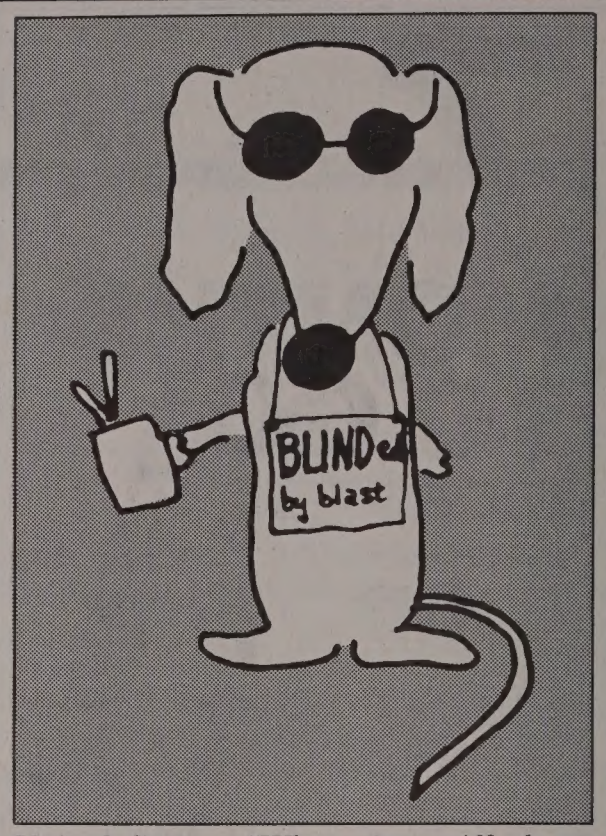
BETTER DEAD THAN RED?: This slogan, which typified American Cold War hysteria in the 1950s, was eerily revived recently when the Center for Survey Research at Boston's University of Massachusetts campus released the results of a telephone survey of 792 state residents. Forty-nine percent of the respondents said that they would rather fight an "all-out nuclear war" than "live under Communist rule." Of that group, two-thirds (or 33 percent of those polled) further responded that they would favor such an option even if "it meant the death of everyone in the United States, our enemy's country and the population of some other countries" as well. Padraig O'Malley, senior analyst at the Center, says the poll of randomly selected individuals has a 3 percent margin of error.

Attempting to interpret the results of the survey, O'Malley stated that "it indicates a basic difficulty in understanding the scope of nuclear holocaust and a deeply imbedded notion of life under communism. You tend to fear something you can imagine, and the concept of nuclear war is so unthinkable that it remains an abstraction."

Some local disarmament activists challenged the poll's significance as "skewered" since it posed two extreme options and did not give respondents much time to sift through the full meaning of their answers.

GOING TO THE DOGS: "I looked down at Harrison," Jerry Kurtz says, referring to his beloved dachshund, "and I thought of what would happen to dogs in a nuclear war, and the idea was born." The "idea" was to write (and have his wife, Pat Gilliam, illustrate) the first *Nuclear War Manual for Dogs*, a 20-page pamphlet published by Zoo Press this month.

In the *Manual* a street-wise canine reveals that 11,500 dogs are believed to have been killed at Hiroshima and that only one in 5000 "city-dwelling dogs" would survive a nuclear attack on the



United States. "When you sniff about doors now and lounge in corners," the *Manual* instructs its canine audience, "think about it and force yourself to believe it." It warns dogs to steer clear of fallout shelters, where (following a nuclear blast) they might be mistaken for the next meal. And it suggests that dogs use their "expressive skills" to really get their owners *moving* to halt the arms race.

Jerome D. Frank (author of *Sanity and Survival in the Nuclear Age)* and Representative Parren J. Mitchell have already endorsed the *Manual*. A television reporter in Baltimore has conducted an interview with a bulldog who claimed to have read it. The *Manual* is available for $2.75 from Zoo Press, 805 Homestead Street, Baltimore, MD 21218. Kurtz says that 30 percent of all profits will go to the national freeze campaign.

MONITORING THE CANDIDATES: Citing the need to "act, and act now," Representative Berkley Bedell, with a variety of leading Iowa Democrats, businessmen and activists, has formed a statewide citizens committee designed to focus public awareness on the nuclear arms race during the presidential campaign. The group, dubbed PEACE (People Encouraging Arms Control Efforts), will use the 1984 Iowa caucus system to express the concerns of its members with the arms race.

"The real story here lies with Congressman Bedell's daughter, Joanne," says PEACE staff worker Carrol McLaughlin. "She was going to take her family and move Down Under [Australia], so that she could survive a nuclear holocaust. That really shook Berk up, and that's how the seeds for PEACE were planted. We're hoping the idea will take root and spread to other parties and

ILLUSTRATION FROM "NUCLEAR WAR MANUAL FOR DOGS"

other states." Already, citizens in Massachusetts have expressed interest in forming a PEACE organization of their own.

Members of Bedell's group are asked to contribute a $10 fee, and to help work toward an August 13 conference to which all of the Democratic presidential candidates have been invited. "August 13 is the first Saturday of the State Fair," McLaughlin says, "so we're hoping that the candidates will have a fine time with the sheep and the hogs and the pickles in the morning, and then get down to grappling with the real issues in the afternoon. We want the candidates to make public commitments to peace that they will be accountable to. We're going to ask them specific questions about how they'd reverse the arms race and redirect our country's priorities."

WORLD WISE FILM: An ambitious video documentary and feature film project on the effects of the arms race on the Third World and minority communities in the United States is being initiated under the guidance of Jean Ishibashi, a San Francisco-based associate of the American Friends Service Committee Disarmament Program. Supported by a wide range of media and activist organizations and artists, it hopes to help redress the glaring absence of discussion about Third World issues in the disarmament movement. Although there are some materials available on these topics, Ishibashi points out, "They are made by people who don't have the experience of being activists in Third World communities."

Stevie Wonder, who is presently writing a song for disarmament, says he will consider making it the theme song of the film. Novelist Alice Walker *(The Color Purple)* and film producer John Korty *(The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman)* have been involved as advisors to the project, which is presently soliciting screenplays. The feature film, made from the perspective of a young Third World girl, will focus on the concept that the arms race is already devastating Third World communities.

Part of the film will be incorporated from the first leg of the project, which involves the compilation of oral histories and interviews conducted by children in minority communities. Several community radio and television stations have promised to broadcast some of the interviews this summer. Treatments for screenplays should be sent to Ishibashi at AFSC, 2160 Lake Street, San Francisco, CA 94121 (415) 752-7766.

ABOLITIONIST CRY: "An Agenda for Non-Collaboration" could be subtitled "Going Beyond the Freeze." The document, which was mailed to many peace groups during May, and has already been endorsed by over 50 well-known activists, pledges to work for the abolition of nuclear weapons and advocates 10 acts of individual non-collaboration with the government. Among the acts: demonstrations, civil disobedience, withholding income and telephone tax, "a national campaign of nonviolent resistance" and a national ballot initiative that would withhold all funds for nuclear testing, manufacture and deployment.

Sidney Lens, one of the drafters of the document, compares the weapons abolitionist movement to the movement to abolish slavery. "Sending slaves back to Africa had been the popular solution to the slavery problem," Lens comments. "It wasn't until William Lloyd Garrison that abolishment of the institution of slavery was ever considered." Lens argues that elimination of the weapons is the solution to the problem of the nuclear threat, not arms control or arms reduction.

The Agenda was drafted by a group of five at a meeting in December at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., and finalized at a meeting at the Riverside Church in New York. (Inquiries about Agenda should be addressed to Room 705, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL 60604.) □

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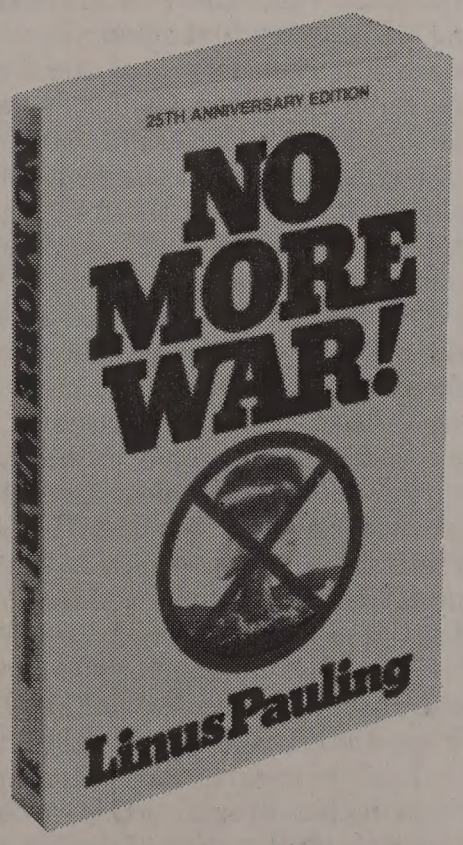

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LIVERMORE GROUP SPARKS PROTEST

Direct Action Has Its Day

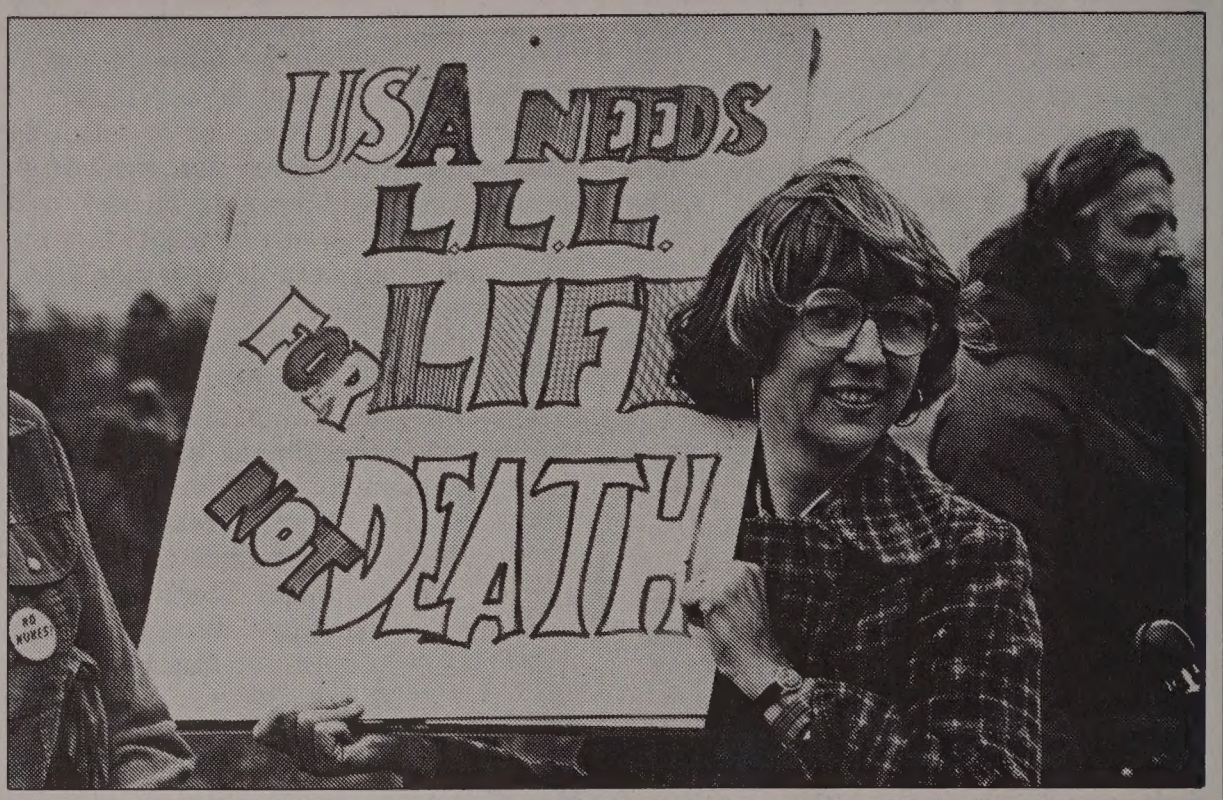
On June 20, hundreds of peace activists will converge on the town of Livermore, California, the site of one of America's two major nuclear weapons research laboratories. For several hours or more they will swarm around the four entrances to Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, hoping by their presence to halt all traffic into and out of the sprawling, 640-acre complex—to stop it, if briefly, from doing "business as usual."

For members of the Berkeley-based Livermore Action Group (LAG), many of whom expect to be in jail before the day is out, Livermore Lab's driveways and access road have become familiar turf. The June 20 blockade will be the sixth such action LAG has organized at the lab since February 1982, when the group first made the facility a major target for disarmament action in California. In the past 18 months, more than 1500 people have been arrested in blockades at the weapons design center, which is managed by the University of California under a long-term Defense Department contract.

This time, however, LAG members say they hope the action will fit into a much larger context. The group has proclaimed June 20—the summer solstice—"International Day of Nuclear Disarmament." The Livermore blockade will be only one of several dozen actions—many involving civil disobedience—taking place across the state, the nation and the world that day *(see Calendar, page 29)*.

The actions—set up by local groups and coordinated by LAG and Mobilization for Survival (MFS)—are remarkably diverse. They range from a human chain in Detroit to a blockade in Chicago; from a rally in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to civil disobedience in Westborough, Massachusetts. Several events will take place in California. A newly-formed group in Santa Monica, Women's Rand Action, for example, will commit civil disobedience outside the national headquarters of the Rand Corporation, a think tank with ties to the Pentagon.

Some disagreement between LAG and MFS arose over whether the day of protest should be termed "international." Only a handful of actions will be held abroad. Although LAG sent a representative to Europe, the group was "a little naive" about how much work is needed to build support abroad, a coordinator in the national MFS office comments. (MFS is making the protests this October against Euromissiles its main base of international coordination.)



Demonstrating at LLL (Lawrence Livermore Lab): Stopping bombs with bodies

But Tamara Thompson, a LAG spokeswoman, contends that the international designation is warranted. She says that the day will be marked in about a dozen countries. The biggest civil disobedience action planned is a blockade at the Canadian Forces Base in Comox, British Columbia, where U.S. missiles are stored.

"DOING CD"

The decision to issue a "Call to Action" was made last August at a statewide meeting of LAG affinity groups. The impetus for announcing a day of protest, according to Thompson, was the desire to "make links with people in other areas and other countries" and to "give people an external forum to express their views."

While LAG members say they appreciate what the freeze campaign has done in drawing attention to weapons-related issues, they feel there is a need to link these concerns to other issues: nuclear power, militarism, interventionism, "and their social and ecological consequences." LAG believes that many freeze advocates are growing frustrated with the political process. "Congress may talk about the freeze between now and the day the world ends," Thompson says. "Even in the freeze campaign there is some sense that they now have to oppose specific weapons like cruise and Trident." Most of the freeze campaigners who will be taking part in the June 20 demonstrations, Thompson says, will not be "doing civil disobedience," but there will be some "doing CD" for the first time.

Jo Seidita, chairperson of the freeze campaign in Southern California, says that she "would assume that most of our members would support the demonstrations" but she says that the freeze campaign itself "most likely will not endorse anything involving arrests."

Several factors, however, could lower the size of the turnout for major actions in California on June 20.

Many direct-action advocates in the state are now focusing on events at Vandenberg Air Force Base near Santa Barbara, where missiles designed to carry nuclear warheads are tested. In March, 130 protesters blockaded roads leading to the base, and more than 600 trespassed on the base. This led to over 700 arrests and the imprisonment of about 250. During May, the Vandenberg Coalition, of which LAG is a part, was preoccupied with making plans for later this summer, to disrupt the first testing of the MX missile at Vandenberg in the event Congress okayed President Reagan's latest basing

PHOTOS COURTESY OF "THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN"

plan.

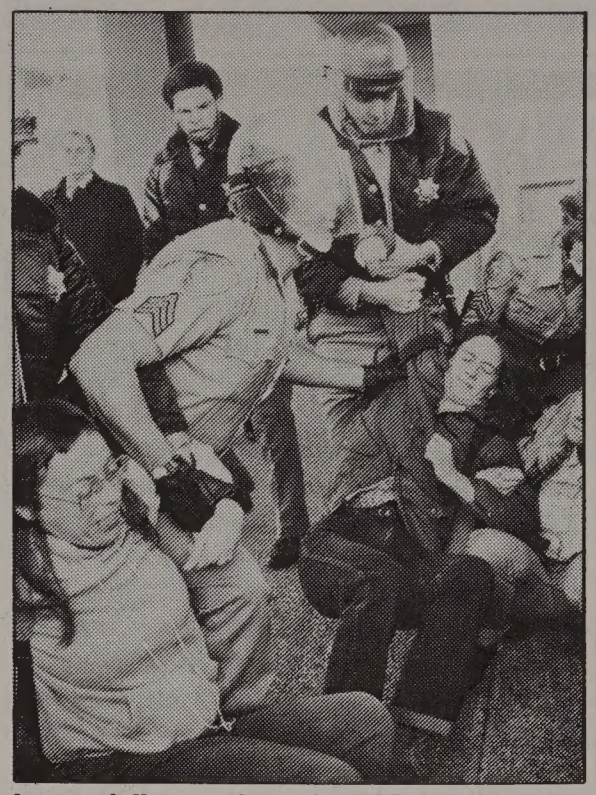
Furthermore, in the past few months, participants in CD actions at Livermore and Vandenberg have faced increasingly harsh treatment by the courts. Commenting on the Vandenberg protests in March, federal authorities indicated that they would push for lengthy jail sentences in the future to discourage disruptive tactics. It's not clear what effect, if any, the fear of long jail terms may have on people considering civil disobedience. Some groups, including LAG, have as yet developed few alternatives for those who want to protest but don't want to be involved in civil disobedience.

TOO RADICAL?

Organizers of the June 20 actions at Livermore stress that it will involve more than civil disobedience. They will hold a rally on June 11 in Oakland to kick off the following week's action. According to LAG, the rally will feature an appearance by Representative Ron Dellums, one of the strongest congressional foes of the arms race and the Reagan budget.

The group clearly hopes Dellums will attract to the rally sympathizers who might not otherwise participate in LAG's June 20 events—working-class people, blacks (who have been noticeably absent from LAG's ranks) and the state's more mainstream disarmament backers, people who may have voted for the nuclear freeze initiative in November but consider civil disobedience "radical."

So far, that's the only "Disarmament Day" event directly geared to appeal to people who are uncomfortable with LAG's tactics. Although the nuclear freeze campaign in California has a large and somewhat diverse constituency—



Longer jail terms loom for LAG activists

and has maintained a generally cordial relationship with LAG—the freeze has not rallied behind the June 20 actions.

"It's just not a priority of ours," explains Michael Kazin, a Northern California freeze activist. The freeze, he says, is working instead toward the series of actions in October that will focus on the deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe.

There are some indications the two groups—LAG and the freeze campaign—may be moving closer to a working relationship that fosters more coordinated activities. At a recent "disarmament strategy meeting" in Berkeley sponsored by the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), LAG representatives expressed interest in working with the freeze campaign and others on a concerted effort to oppose the Euromissiles. (LAG has just published a comprehensive, 106-page handbook on direct action, available for $3 from the group at 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94705).

LAG members feel strongly that the arms race can't be viewed outside its larger political context. Their vision of social change makes connections between arms policies and militarism, sexism, racism and poverty, aiming for what they call a "broad-based constituency."

The freeze movement, too, has made a clear effort to recruit as broad a base as possible, but along single-issue lines. The effect of these different outlooks and approaches has been to separate, at times needlessly, the factions in the state to such a degree that despite substantive agreement on many issues it's hard to find common ground on which to hold joint actions.

BEYOND SYMBOLISM

According to many LAG members, the concept of using a blockade at Livermore was inspired by the blockade at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant in September 1981, in which 2000 protesters participated. That action kept Pacific Gas & Electric from loading radioactive fuel into the plant for a full two weeks. As the blockade was about to break up, a PG & E engineer found a blueprint error that caused the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to revoke the plant's license, and the plant is still inactive.

Antinuclear forces consider this one direct action that yielded a tangible (if not quite "direct") result. Throughout its 18-month, six-blockade campaign against the Livermore Lab, LAG members have maintained that each blockade had concrete, tangible goals and so shouldn't be classified simply as a "media event."

Generally, LAG has defined that goal as "disrupting business as usual." In many cases, the blockades have done that. But as the series continues, the national and local media have come to treat them as almost routine. That has led to confusion over the role of such blockades as a political strategy.

Some direct action advocates feel that the California freeze campaign has identified no clear strategy for the future, beyond campaigning for candidates in next year's elections. LAG members await June 20, confident that the arms race is so deep a part of our political power structure that Congress will never take more than token action to halt it. But, like the freeze, the direct action coalition has yet to describe a clear strategy for the next step.

—Tim Redmond

Tim Redmond is a reporter for the San Francisco Bay Guardian.

A visitor to the Pentagon noticed something unusual during a candlelight vigil on the parade grounds one evening just before Easter. The pillars at one entrance were covered with plastic, and two of the door handles had been removed.

It's not the kind of intelligence that shows up in *The New York Times* or on the evening television news, but in certain circles the report was swiftly disseminated and instantly understood.

The door handles had been taken off to make it harder for demonstrators to weave or chain themselves to the entrance. The plastic had been installed to make it easier to wipe away their blood.

The pre-Easter battening of the hatches by the mightiest of all government agencies was a tribute to the growing power and influence of civil disobedience in America. Not only the Pentagon is beginning to take notice. The rising force of direct action is being felt by a lengthening list of nuclear weapons installations, manufacturing plants, and other support facilities across the country.

Last year more than 4000 Americans were arrested for disrupting business-as-usual in the nuclear weapons program. The total this year may soar well beyond that number—it is already more than half way there, with the June 20 actions still to come. The practitioners of civil disobedience see themselves as lawbreakers crusading against a larger crime—the official sanctioning of nuclear war.

"Who will confront this crime?" asks Daniel Berrigan, one of the patron saints of the movement. "I think it is only the resisting people. Those who confront weapons, weapons-makers, and their immaculate guardian—the law."

—Samuel H. Day, Jr

FROM AMARILLO TO BANGOR

Stopping Trident On Its Tracks

On the morning of March 22, 1983, a locomotive pulling 12 snow-white armored cars—the first and last of which bore ominous, square turrets, like those of a tank—slowed as it approached the gate of the Bangor Naval Submarine base in rural Kitsap County, Washington. About 200 people stood in a single line next to the tracks holding daffodils and signs. Nine stepped forward onto the tracks in front of the train, which, according to Department of Energy (DOE) correspondence, is intended for shipment of nuclear warheads from the DOE's Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, to Bangor.

The protesters were wrestled from the tracks by Kitsap County Sheriff's deputies; six were arrested; the train rumbled past into the base.

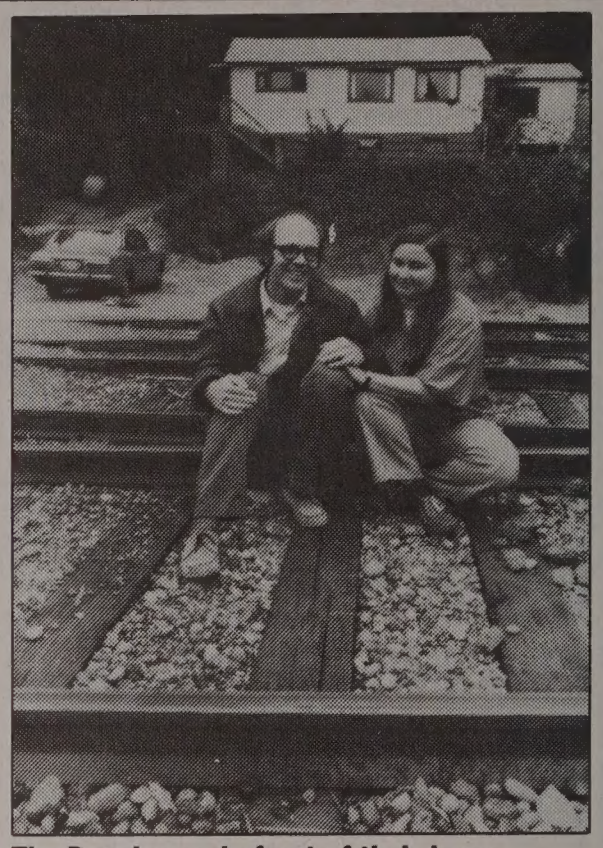
Four days earlier, two men in Denver, Colorado, and eight people in Fort Collins, Colorado, had been arrested as they attempted to block the train, and were charged with obstructing government operations.

These and other protests in 20 other locations along the train route from Amarillo to Bangor were organized by the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, which occupies a 3.8-acre site adjacent to the 7700-acre Bangor base in Poulsbo, Washington. Six Ground Zero activists are engaged in an almost full-time campaign of peaceful resistance to the Trident submarine. The campaign is rooted in personal commitments to spiritually-based nonviolence as a way of life. The actions on the tracks are an outgrowth of the Ground Zero community's effort to get as close to the nuclear issue as possible. Their site shares 330 feet of common fence with the base. (This Ground Zero is not to be confused with the Washington, D.C.-based, educational group of the same name.)

"Americans try to put distance between ourselves and the arms race—which is what the government wants," says Jim Douglass, one of Ground Zero's co-founders, whose home is next to the railway entrance to the base. "Nuclear weapons come through towns and cities all across the country, and people don't realize this. As soon as they make that connection the arms race comes home in a way it never will if you see the problem as residing in Washington, D.C."

Douglass, a former professor and author of three books on theology and philosophy, and his wife Shelley Douglass have been protesting at Bangor since 1975. The couple moved from British Columbia to Bangor in 1978 because they felt it was an act of violence to plan and execute actions in the area, and then leave, while local citizens remained dependent on the U.S. Navy. Shelley has been arrested five times at the base. On two occasions Jim has walked to the very heart of the base where nuclear warheads are stored; for this he served two six-month jail terms.

In 1981 the Douglasses formed the Agape Community, a network of people in two dozen towns and cities along the tracks used by trains carrying Trident



The Douglasses in front of their home

missile motors from a Hercules plant near Salt Lake City to Bangor. In March 1982 Ground Zero obtained copies of correspondence between the Washington Utilities and Transportation Commission and the DOE concerning plans for the shipment of nuclear warheads from Amarillo to Bangor. Last December, when the first distinctive, snow-white "Nuclear Train" carrying the warheads was spotted, the Agape Community expanded to cover this Texas-to-Washington route, which winds through seven states.

Ground Zero believes that approximately 96 warheads are shipped along this route two or three times a year. According to a spokesman from DOE, the two armored security cars which accompany the train are occupied by "courier guards" armed with shotguns, machine guns and hand grenades.

Agape Community members along the route—Jim Douglass calls them "train buffs"—alert Ground Zero when the white train is sighted. An article in the latest issue of the Ground Zero newspaper suggested that each of the towns along the train route "has the same capacity for good or evil as towns in Europe in the '40s through which boxcars passed unnoticed. In that case people were brought to an extermination system. In this case an extermination system is brought to the people."

Ground Zero's campaign of resistance is based on the example of Mohandas Gandhi. The visible acts of civil disobedience, such as the Nuclear Train protest and last summer's Peace Blockade of the first Trident submarine, the U.S.S. *Ohio*, are only a small part of the Trident

"Train buffs" arrested in March outside Bangor base

Campaign. The most consistent action has been the practice of distributing a weekly leaflet to the approximately 5500 civilian workers and military personnel streaming into the base, an activity that started in September 1978. In doing this, Ground Zero is making what is for them a central distinction: While the Trident system may be evil, the people that build, deploy, and run it are not. The leafletting and Ground Zero's weekly public meetings are designed to facilitate dialogue. For Ground Zero this provides a context in which the civil disobedience—Ground Zero Coordinator Karol Schulkin calls it "moral obedience"—is seen as resistance to the system alone.

Non-cooperation can take many forms: a base worker stopping to pick up a leaflet or resigning his or her job; tax resistance (the Trident Campaign was an influential factor in Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen's widely-publicized decision to withhold a portion of his income tax); or the fasts and vigils with which Ground Zero marked the arrival of the second Trident submarine, the U.S.S. *Michigan*, in March of this year.

"In a sense beyond sense," Jim Douglass wrote, "the goal of the Trident Campaign is not to stop the Trident submarine and missile system. Its purpose is to change ourselves—all of us—so that there will no longer be anyone left to run the submarine or fire the missile."

This spiritual activism was part of the reason the pacifist Buddhist order, Nipponzan Myohoji, chose the Ground Zero site as the location for building the first Peace Pagoda in the United States. The prospective Pagoda has also served as a focus for community opposition to Ground Zero. A loosely-knit group of Kitsap County residents, Concerned About the Pagoda, has joined the Kitsap County Commissioners in a suit to block the Pagoda's construction. Their concern is that the Pagoda will change the character of the area by bringing in numerous protesters. In May 1982 a geodesic dome on Ground Zero property in which members held meetings was burned to the ground in what the local fire marshal labeled a blaze "of suspicious origin."

Three of the full-time workers at Ground Zero, including Shelley Douglass, may be jailed soon as a result of Trident protests (trials were scheduled for late-May). In the short run they don't expect their actions to result in the decommissioning of the Trident system. The faith of those at Ground Zero is that the tide of people questioning their individual relationship to the arms race will swell, and that only in such a tide does hope exist. **—Simeon Dreyfuss**

Simeon Dreyfuss is a freelance writer in Seattle.

ARRESTING STRATEGIES

Behind The Honeywell Blockade

If your goal is to shut down the corporate headquarters of a billion-dollar-a-year military contractor, you leave no stone unturned.

That's the golden rule at the Honeywell Project, an organization which, since the days of the Vietnam War, has been protesting the weapons work of the Minneapolis-based Honeywell Corporation. Along with heating and cooling systems and other commercial products, Honeywell makes cluster bombs and guidance systems for nuclear missiles (including the cruise and MX).

Last fall the Honeywell Project's 14 years of protest turned into resistance with a two-hour blockade of the company headquarters, leading to the arrest of 36 men and women on trespass charges. This spring, following months of preparation, the project returned for another day of disruption of business at Honeywell, timed to coincide with the company's annual stockholders meeting.

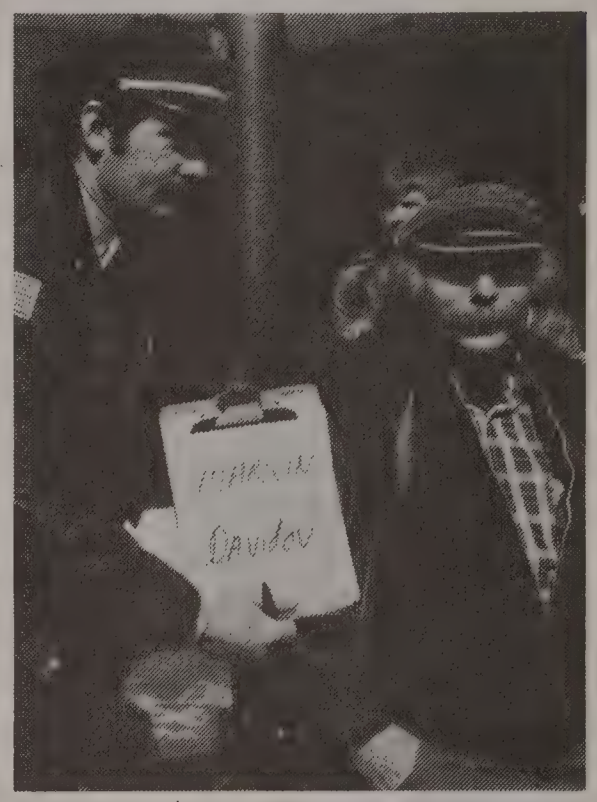
The golden rule of painstaking planning was much in evidence at an orientation session, held in the cramped quarters of a small theater, on the eve of the project's April 18 "nonviolent direct action" at Honeywell. But for its unlawful purpose, this could have been almost any election-eve gathering of true believers—to ring doorbells for the Citizens Party, perhaps, or to get out the vote for Walter Mondale. On the stage, speakers were checking off a long list of things-to-be-done. In the bleachers, the audience was busily taking notes.

"Have you registered yet?" a young woman asked. Into my hand she pressed a form which asked such questions as: "If you are arrested who, if anyone, should we contact? Which Affinity Group are you in? Will you post bail even if you think the judge is wrong in requiring it?"

Stretching almost the full length of the stage was a diagram of Honeywell's sprawling headquarters, its 13 entrances marked numerically. The audience watched intently as a discussion leader pointed with her stick to each entrance and outlined the tactics of "Plan A." There was also Plan B, Plan C, and Plan D.

In charge the next day would be a seven-member committee to make on-the-spot decisions. The seven rose and identified themselves. Keeping order would be a dozen or so marshals, identifiable by their yellow armbands. Supplying accurate information would be two bicycle-riding couriers outfitted in red and yellow helmets. Also, volunteer lawyers would be on hand. "You can tell us by our yellow notepads," one of them quipped.

There was much earnest talk of how to deal with the police, of how to submit to arrest, of what to do at the police station, of whether to accept an arrest citation (much like a traffic ticket) or to ask for a written complaint (setting forth full particulars of the crime). One reason for asking for a written complaint, commented one civil disobedience veteran in the crowd, to much laughter, is that it results in a document that can be framed and hung on a wall.



Marv Davidov in familiar position: Mindful of the "main door look"

What does one wear to a blockade? Several announced their intention to be arrested and carried off in coat and tie in order to dispel what they called the "hippy-yippy stereotype" of civil disobedience. Others vigorously defended their right to dress down. One well-dressed woman suggested that the planners be mindful of the next day's "main door look," by which she meant the impression created by demonstrators assigned to the door where the television news cameras were most likely to be.

But mostly the talk was of finding the best way to challenge the weapons work of Honeywell without alienating the employees, of raising the consciousness of Minneapolis, of connecting the next day's action to civil disobedience movements elsewhere in the country, and above all, of carrying off the action in a spirit of nonviolence.

PHOTO BY MARK JENSEN

At 6:00 the next morning, several hundred people gathered in a plaza in front of Honeywell's headquarters to ask that the company cease production of weapons of mass destruction. They were met by a security officer, bullhorn in hand, who warned them to stay beyond a yellow rope strung around the perimeter of the building. He cautioned, to a chorus of jeers and laughter, that "your activities cannot be destructive of anyone's personal safety."

Normal business stopped at Honeywell. Some demonstrators secured the doors with chains and padlocks rented from a local bicycle shop. Others wove them shut with woolen yarn. They prayed, sang, chanted—and waited for the police. A large, hand-lettered sign said: "Bomb Factory Closed Today."

By 9:30, a patient Minneapolis police contingent had arrested 139, a record number for antinuclear civil disobedience in the Midwest. The trespassers included:

- Erica Bouza, wife of Minneapolis Police Chief Anthony Bouza. She and her husband drove together to the demonstration—she to be arrested and he to supervise the arrest operation.
- Meridel LeSueur, 83-year-old Minnesota poet, who arrived in scarlet slippers, clutching a rose and walking with a cane.
- Jennifer Boesing, 14, who needed parental permission to take part, which was not difficult because her mother, Martha Boesing, 47, was arrested with her. (The youngest trespasser was Sasha Isaacs-Andrusko, 11.)
- Marv Davidov, 51, a founder of the Honeywell Project, who, along with a score of others, returned to be arrested a second time.

Honeywell's board chairman, Edson Spencer, later told stockholders that business-as-usual would continue at Honeywell. He said he was not aware that the blockade "had had any effect on anyone."

But Spencer hadn't been standing where I was that day, studying the expressions of a group of company workers viewing the action from a distance. One of them watched transfixed as the police arrested, photographed, fingerprinted, and carried off a woman young enough to be her own daughter. The look in the older woman's eye said, unmistakably, that she was paying attention.

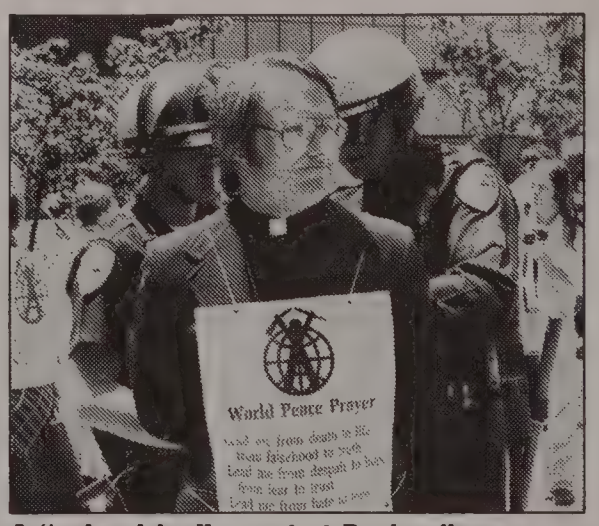
—Samuel H. Day, Jr.

Samuel H. Day, Jr. is a contributing editor of The Progressive *and a freelance writer based in Madison, Wisconsin.*

CREATIVE NONVIOLENCE

A Network of Nuclear Resisters

Who are the nuclear resisters, and how do they differ from law-abiding folk? There is no official registry, but one place to begin looking are the archives located in the kitchen cupboard of Jack and Felice Cohen-Joppa in Tempe, Arizona. If it were a military post, the Cohen-Joppas' makeshift office could be called the signal headquarters of the nuclear resistance movement. The couple manage the affairs of the National No-Nukes Prison Support Collective and edit a newsletter, **The Nuclear Resister**, which appears about every six weeks. To make ends meet, Jack works part-time as a chef.



A "galvanizing" arrest at Rockwell

Felice has been questioning authority since the age of 13, when she successfully fended off her school principal's efforts to make her remove, during gym class, the bracelet she wore as support for an American prisoner of war in Vietnam. Jack's antinuclear activism went into high gear five years ago when he helped blockade the railroad tracks leading into the Department of Energy's Rocky Flats plant near Denver, which makes components for nuclear weapons, including their plutonium triggers. Together they have built up a formidable file on the comings and goings of nuclear resisters in jails around the country.

One purpose of *The Nuclear Resister* (Box 37, Tempe, AZ 85281; subscriptions $10 per year) is "to foster a wider public awareness of imprisoned nuclear resisters, their motivations and their actions." Another purpose is "to build a link between the antinuclear movement and the prison movement, with the aim of educating antinuclear activists about the daily destruction of lives in the prisons of this country."

The linking of peace with justice is a distinguishing feature of many in the civil disobedience community, especially those who proceed from religious faith. For them, direct action is more than just a political tactic to stop the nuclear arms race. This connection is explicit in another nuclear resistance newsletter, **Harvest of Justice**, published monthly by Gaudete Peace and Justice Center (634 Spruce Street, Madison, WI 53715, no subscription fee; donations welcome). It is designed, in the words of editor Helen Dery Woodson, "to provide information and reflection on civil disobedience/Divine Obedience and to assist readers in evaluating the adequacy of their own response to the nuclear nightmare which engulfs us." Woodson, who cares full-time for seven children, most of them adopted and mentally retarded, splashed blood in the White House last fall and served two and a half months in jail in order to make the point that nonviolent witness against nuclear weapons is an integral part of child protection.

The Nuclear Resister and *Harvest of Justice* have helped open the world of nuclear resistance to me. Here are some of the many diverse faces I have discovered:

Strategies and Actions for Conversion: The name of this group was chosen so its acronym would match that of the U.S. Air Force Strategic Air Command (SAC), headquartered at Offutt Air Force Base near Omaha, Nebraska. It has sponsored a rich assortment of actions to illuminate Offutt's role as the targeting center for the entire strategic nuclear arsenal.

This spring three volunteer "exterior decorators"—Frank Cordaro, John Hutchens, and Bill Douglas—completed federal prison terms for altering a roadside sign near the air base gate proclaiming SAC's motto, "Peace is our Profession." They changed it to "War is our Profession."

On Ash Wednesday three Catholic nuns—Liz Sully, Pam Mitchell, and Jackie Kelly—made their way into the air base chapel, where stained glass windows depict (among other scenes) the spectacle of a red telephone, a bomber, a mushroom cloud, and a woman and child cowering in fright. The visitors handed out leaflets and unfurled a banner which read, "Let us repent of the stain in our windows."

This summer, in an escalation of its nonviolent resistance campaign, Strate-

PHOTO BY ARDON ALGER

gies and Actions for Conversion is calling on peace activists throughout the Midwest to take part in an "End the Targeting" action at the air base gate on August 7. A flier advertises the action as "an experience in political empowerment; you are invited to express your anger, fear, and despair in a creative nonviolent way." Some protesters will attempt to walk through SAC's front gates.

The Los Angeles Catholic Worker House: The link between peace and justice is nowhere made more clearly and forcibly than in a Los Angeles skid row soup kitchen that feeds some 800 a day. The kitchen is the heartbeat of the Los Angeles Catholic Worker House, where a staff of 27, each working for $5 a week, also runs medical and legal clinics, emergency housing shelters, a food collection service, a bakery, and a newspaper.

"For me the soup kitchen is very cathartic," one of the workers, Catherine Morris, told me when I dropped by a few months ago. "I would go nuts as a full-time organizer."

As is the case with other Catholic Worker houses, the soup kitchen also serves as a rallying point and staging area from which to confront other community ills. Five years ago soup kitchen workers began bearing witness for justice and peace at the annual "arms bazaar" held for weapons suppliers in Anaheim, California. The practice soon spread to the Western regional head-

Trying to "end targeting" at SAC

quarters of Rockwell-International in El Segundo, near Los Angeles, one of the nation's largest military contractors.

Vigils, occupations, blockades and trespasses by Catholic Workers and the nonsectarian Alliance for Survival have galvanized the peace movement in Southern California. Taking a cue from the Catholic Worker House, the Alliance recently established a Los Angeles residential facility from which 10 members have begun a full-time effort (for subsistence pay) to mobilize voters against the nuclear arms race.

Pantex: In the winter of 1981 four men and two women scaled a fence and brought civil disobedience for the first time to the Pantex plant, final point of assembly for all nuclear weapons in the United States, in the Texas panhandle near Amarillo. Local peace activists felt the cowboy backlash might set back their cause. Perhaps it did, but the incident is also credited with having led to the anti-nuclear "conversion" of the local Catholic bishop, Leroy T. Matthiesen, who has since become a powerful force in the national peace movement. On Ash Wednesday this year three women went over the fence again.

Silence One Silo: The Species Life Community in Montana employs earth-nurturing symbolism, rather than religious metaphor, in its direct action campaign against Air Force missile silos. Last year Mark Anderlik and Karl Zanzig were arrested after sowing wheat along the approach to a missile silo near Great Falls. Later, a Presbyterian minister, John Worcester, received a leave of absence from his congregation to join the civil disobedience campaign. He was arrested on February 16, 1982, and sent to Roosevelt County Jail.

Brandywine Peace Community: Led by a man carrying a cross on his back, some 200 celebrants in early April walked to the General Electric Space Center at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where GE is building a communications satellite system for Defense Department use in the event of nuclear war. Forty-five were arrested in a "walk-on" that was the latest step in a long campaign by Philadelphia area peace activists to raise public consciousness about the activities of the nation's fourth largest military contractor. Last fall, to symbolize unmet human needs, members of the peace community deposited a shanty on the grounds of the space center.

Trident Nein: Among the most venerable direct action campaigns is the one waged year in and year out in Groton, Connecticut, at the shipyard of General Dynamics' Electric Boat Company, builder of the vaunted Trident submarines, each capable of destroying 192 cities. The civil disobedience campaign waged by the Covenant Peace Community and others has included battering and hammering on the submarines themselves—acts which have brought long jail terms.

Despite suffering and sacrifice, the Trident Neiners seldom miss an opportunity to strike a blow. Their spirit is symbolized by the salutation offered to a judge by one of their members, John Shiel, when he appeared for arraignment last March 17. "Top of the morning to you," he said. "I pray Saint Patrick will come and drive the snake out of the White House." —S.D.

PHOTO BY DAN BAHR

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BY JOE PEACOCK

Catching The King's Conscience

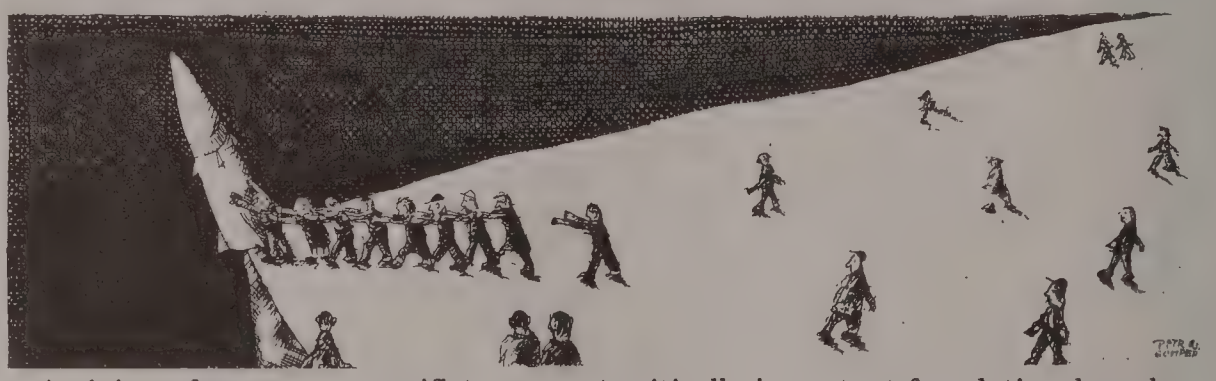
By satyagraha *even the frailest person can oppose on equal terms a giant armed with the most powerful weapons.*
—M.K. Gandhi

With the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe scheduled for the autumn of this year, the peace movement is starting to move from a strategy of protest to one of resistance. Yet in many places one can find divisions within the peace movement on the question of strategies.

Peace groups and political parties conducting primarily political campaigns often do not see any value in direct actions such as nonviolent blockades, peace camps or symbolic actions, or even of more "passive" forms of civil disobedience such as tax resistance. Pacifist and action-oriented groups, on the other hand, are often distrustful of the more political groups, whom they regard as bureaucratic in both structure and orientation and out of touch with the grass roots of the peace movement. What follows is an attempt to describe a nonviolent perspective for the peace movement which recognizes the best arguments on both sides.

This perspective is based on the idea of *satyagraha*, the Hindi term coined by Gandhi meaning, literally, "truth-force." Like some other of Gandhi's ideas, perhaps this strange word *satyagraha* is too foreign for us to adopt for our present situation. We must develop our own words and concepts. Yet the more common word *nonviolence* is also inadequate, since it is the force—the real strength of nonviolent action—which is important and not simply the avoidance of violence. It is this *truth-force* or *satyagraha* which, as Martin Luther King said, "does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it. It gives them new self-respect. It calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally, it so stirs the conscience of the opponent that reconciliation becomes a reality."

The leaders of the peace movement's political campaigns, such as CND in Britain, the freeze campaign in the United States and other "like-minded" groups, believe that the highest priority for the peace movement at this point is to continue the recruitment of more people, particularly more conservative people, into the peace movement. They believe that this can best be accomplished by working through conventional social structures such as the labor unions, youth and women's organizations and through legal tactics such as referenda and campaigns for the establishment of nuclear free zones. They also believe that we must do our utmost to work within the present system of parliamentary democracy.



Activists from more pacifist peace movements and grass-roots "action" groups have a different perspective. While they concede the necessity of increasing recruitment, they often do not agree that this should be done through conventional social structures alone (or at all). They see the necessity of deeds of resistance to match the peace movement's words of protest. Many are skeptical about the ability of the present parliamentary system to be truly democratic, especially on such issues as the new missiles, and see the necessity of moving beyond parliamentary solutions.

Neither Gandhi nor King rejected the system of parliamentary democracy, but they both believed that the present system allows fundamental injustices to continue uncorrected. Real democracy, they believed, must include the collective effort and corporate strength of nonviolence.

SYMBOLS AND DRAMA

A *satyagraha* perspective involves approaching these difficult issues with a new set of terms. It places primary emphasis not on recruitment, but on *speaking the truth* through both words and deeds. Speaking the truth, according to Gandhi and King, is the most effective way (and ultimately the only way) to reach people's consciences.

To accomplish this, Gandhi and King identified four steps in any nonviolent movement, all of which involve speaking the truth: collection of the facts to determine whether an injustice exists, negotiation, self-purification, and direct action. The peace movement has rightly given a high priority to the first of these steps, and as a result of careful research has published much excellent material about the arms race and the failure of arms control. Likewise, the more political peace campaigns have undertaken effective lobbying and negotiation efforts. This is critically important foundational work.

But where the *satyagrahi* (the nonviolent activist) goes further is in realizing that the truth is more than just words and information, and that in order to reach people's consciences the truth must be expressed through symbols and drama. Hamlet expressed such a realization when he said, "The play's the thing, wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King." He succeeded with his play, as did Gandhi and King through their actions of civil disobedience. From a Birmingham jail, where he was placed for disobeying a ban on demonstrations in that city, King wrote, "We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the consciences of the local and the national community."

Many in the peace movement who were formerly skeptical of civil disobedience have been convinced by actions such as those at Greenham Common, and other weapons sites, that symbolic actions and nonviolent civil disobedience can be an important means of popular mobilization and even of recruitment for the peace movement. Yet they are still widely considered "last resort" tactics, to be used only when other legal and parliamentary options have been tried and found wanting.

Gandhi and King also believed that all possible legal means should be tried before engaging in civil disobedience, but

ILLUSTRATION BY PIOTR GUMPER

they were reluctant to describe it as a "last resort" tactic because they knew its power to speak the truth. They also saw that there comes a time when we can no longer wait for the ponderous political process to make the urgent changes we seek. They recognized that the words of the *satyagrahi* must be supported by deeds.

CREATING A CRISIS

Clearly, direct action and civil disobedience already have a role to play in the peace movement far beyond that of a "last resort" tactic. Liturgically-based civil disobedience in the United States has played a powerful role in laying the moral issue of nuclear weapons before the conscience of the churches, most notably the Roman Catholic Church. It is also often observed that actions of civil disobedience serve to push forward in people's minds the line beyond which peace activity is seen as "radical," allowing a greater number of people to feel comfortable doing more conventional kinds of peace work. Direct action and civil disobedience carried out in the spirit of *satyagraha* can also provide those who undertake it with a sense of empowerment because it shows us that there is always more that we can do and reveals to us a power which we never realized we had.

For this power to be realized, however, a great deal depends on the spirit and the strategy with which *satyagraha* is carried out. Gandhi himself pointed out that actions of *satyagraha* should not be undertaken without a certain likelihood of success. "The end of a *satyagraha* campaign," he said, "can be described as worthy only when it leaves those taking part strong and more spirited than at the beginning." Direct action should not be undertaken without a clear commitment to nonviolence, i.e. a complete willingness to undergo suffering and a refusal to inflict harm in return.

Until now, the peace movement has been able to assume a standpoint of nonviolence, but as the time of deployment of the new missiles approaches, nonviolence will no longer be a "given." The peace movement needs now to begin making clear its commitment to nonviolence. The ability of Gandhi and King to lead nonviolent campaigns in the face of brutal repression has demonstrated that nonviolence is possible even in the most unlikely situations.

It is also important to remember that *satyagraha* is not limited to direct action, but can include other forms of civil disobedience such as war tax resistance or noncooperation with civil defense exercises as well as a wide variety of noncooperation tactics, the most notable being the general strike. Gandhi considered one of the most effective tools of the *satyagrahi* to be the fast, which he distinguished from the hunger strike. While the hunger strike sets out to punish the opponent, the fast sets out to convert the opponent through love.

"RADICAL NONVIOLENCE"

Disagreement and confusion arises from the term "direct action," which for some conveys the misleading impression that such nonviolent action is offered to achieve a certain mechanical goal: closing down a military base, stopping a munitions train, or destroying a weapon. In fact, such actions look beyond the base, the train or the weapon and seek to reach the consciences of people in the society in order to reach a social consensus which will, in turn, result in change. If the issue were only weapons, systematic sabotage against weapons or weapons sites would seem a sensible strategy rather than a setback for disarmament work. Any strategy should be avoided which communicates fear rather than truth. It is, after all, not the bombs themselves but people's acceptance of the bombs which must be eliminated in order for the disarmament process to begin, and few consciences will be reached by acts of violence.

On the other hand, direct action and civil disobedience can be used to create a situation of crisis in which people begin to face the magnitude and urgency of the problem. "Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue," said King. "It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."

So far I have been discussing *satyagraha* as a strategy and a perspective for the peace movement's resistance to new nuclear weapons. But perhaps it is most appropriate to describe *satyagraha* as a deepening of our commitment and a maturation of our perspective. Clearly, we have a long and very difficult struggle ahead of us. But to take up a strategy of *satyagraha* means to react not with rage and despair, but rather as an occasion for more resolute commitment and more relentless struggle. It means facing the full magnitude of the task ahead of us, yet also looking beyond the surface of political events to the growing moral consensus for disarmament. It means, finally, recognizing the inner origin of injustice and violence but also the interior source of our greatest strength. □

Joe Peacock, a graduate of Yale Divinity School, has been for the past year the disarmament staff person for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in the Netherlands.

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BISHOPS' LETTER

"The Greater Work Still Ahead"

By mid-afternoon on May 2, U.S. Catholic bishops had considered only 20 of some 500 proposed amendments to their 150-page "Challenge of Peace" pastoral letter. But already Joseph Fahey of the Catholic peace group, Pax Christi, was ranging excitedly about the back of the bishops' meeting room in Chicago's Palmer House Hotel, clapping people on the back and whispering, "It's all over—and it went better than we had hoped!" Even that early in the deliberations, the bishops' intentions were plain: They would break with nearly four decades of their nation's nuclear arms policies and declare that the use of nuclear weapons "could not be morally justified."

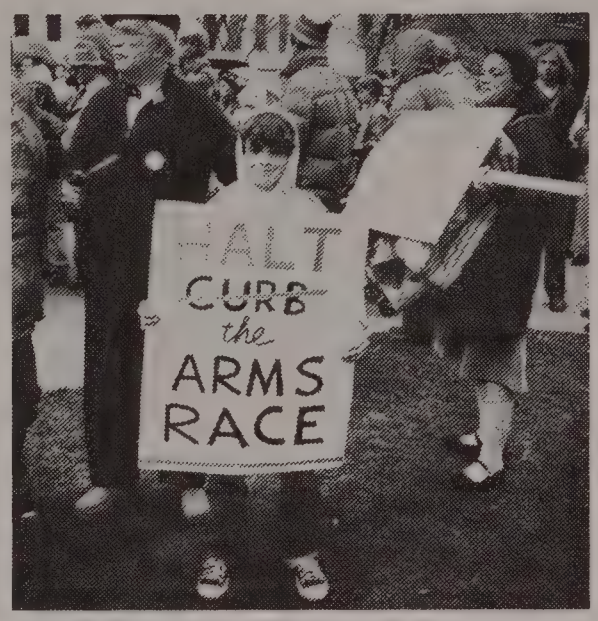
By a vote of 238-9, the bishops said "Halt" to the nuclear advance the same week the House endorsed a nuclear freeze. Priests and ministers can preach from that, educators teach from it, politicians run on it. A few of the bishops may disown the letter outright, and a few more allow it to die on some diocesan shelf. Still, the letter is an advance toward the "completely fresh reappraisal of war" for which the Second Vatican Council called. And that cannot but strengthen nuclear opposition around the nation and the world.

The popular measure of the strength of the bishops' position came down to a choice between two words—"halt" or "curb"—in regard to deployment, production and testing of nuclear weapons. When the bishops overwhelmingly recommended "support for immediate, bilateral, verifiable agreements to halt the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons systems," they essentially threw in with the secular nuclear freeze campaign (although the pastoral carefully disclaims any purposeful connection with a "specific political initiative").

Other specific points the bishops approved—including support for no-first-use of nuclear weapons, "deep cuts in the arsenals of both superpowers," and only a "strictly conditioned acceptance" of deterrence while disarmament is pursued—were not insignificant. But they were less important than the bishops' choice, despite efforts to dissuade them, to attack the issue forthrightly.

When they did that, the bishops:

- Resisted Vatican and European bishops' entreaties for a document kinder to the status quo and less critical of NATO policies in Europe;
- Rejected Reagan Administration contentions that the church and the state were basically of the same mind;
- Weathered ideological splits, both within the drafting committee and the entire body of bishops, to produce a strong (if centrist) statement that they are willing to see made even stronger by its applications in church and society.



Stop, in the name of God

Through three drafts polished over more than two years, the bishops had moved from a cautious first effort, to a more vigorously antinuclear second draft, to a third draft many said had been qualified and ameliorated into blandness (and which met some Reagan Administration approval). Between the second and third drafts some critics charged that Rome or Washington, or both, "got to" the bishops.

In a sense the charges are true. Members of the draft committee consulted in Rome on January 18-19 with Vatican and European bishops' representatives, and in December and January met with U.S. State Department officials. The Reagan Administration asked for credit for its arms proposals and negotiations, and suggested a "clarification" that U.S. policy does not permit targeting of civilian populations. Asked whether the committee caved in to Administration pressures, one member said, "They asked us to mention two things. We mentioned them."

What the bishops would not do was move closer to nonviolent and pacifist stances taken by some among them, including Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, who has advocated unilateral disarmament and withholds part of his taxes to protest the arms race. The bishops eliminated a passage singling out "conscientious objection to all war" as "a valid Christian position," instead saying that both the "just war" theory and pacifism "find their roots in the Christian theological tradition." But while the statement commended men and women in military service, it also cited "deeply sincere individuals who . . . believe strongly in conscience that they are best defending true peace by refusing to bear arms."

As the ballots were being counted on May 3 one of the nation's youngest and most pacifist bishops, Michael Kenny of Alaska, rose to speak. "The greater work is still ahead—attempting to share the letter, especially with those who will have a lot of difficulties with our moral vision," he said. The bishops already have begun planning educational programs on how to teach, and learn from, the letter. Bishop Maurice Dingman of Des Moines suggested the group name a monitoring committee to judge whether good-faith disarmament efforts on the part of U.S. leaders are underway. "If we have a deterrent, and we're tolerating it—how long do we tolerate it?" he asked. "I'd say, if nothing is done, we take another step. We say, 'We're going to tell people not to pay taxes for weapons, and not to work in factories that produce weapons.' "

The bishops did not approve Dingman's proposal but they pointedly reserved the option to write a progress report, to repeat their letter's appeal for peace if they see it has not been taken to heart.

Referring to the "teaching" phase of the letter, Archbishop Philip M. Hannan of New Orleans has announced that he considers the letter "totally non-binding, and that's what I'm going to tell our people." But Bishop Dingman reflected a more common view when he said, "I don't want this document gathering dust. I don't think it will. We've broken our silence and our people won't let us forget it. I cannot keep silent as the Italian bishops did with Mussolini and the German bishops with Hitler." **—Patty Edmonds**

Patty Edmonds is national affairs editor of the National Catholic Reporter.

PHOTO BY PATTY EDMONDS/"NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER"

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Round-Up

House Passes Freeze Amid Confusion Over Amendment

■ Following the passage of the freeze resolution, May 4, in the House of Representatives, the key issue for many observers was not that the freeze measure had passed, but rather, who won? Though Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill had once predicted the freeze would pass after a day's debate, the measure took over 45 hours of debate spread out over seven weeks before it won approval with a 278-149 vote. When the smoke cleared, freeze opponents were declaring victory as well, pointing to an amendment that had been tacked on during the final debate.

This amendment, offered by Representative Elliott Levitas, would revoke the freeze if it was not followed by negotiated arms reductions "within a reasonable, specified period of time." Freeze opponents in the House claimed that this amendment, which passed on a 221-203 vote, weakened the freeze resolution and brought it closer to President Reagan's arms policy. But freeze supporters maintained that the Levitas amendment was not significant and that the final vote was a full endorsement of the freeze and a rejection of Reagan's handling of arms control.

"All along the freeze resolution called for reductions," explains Reuben McCornack, the freeze campaign's Washington representative. "But the opponents in the House wanted desperately to have something they could call a victory. They tried many, many amendments. The Levitas amendment is not really harmful to the basic freeze." Calling the final vote a "big victory," McCornack notes that attempts to weaken the general policy of freeze-first-then-reduce had all failed. As a Levitas aide observed, "The priority is still freeze first and then reduce."

Some freeze supporters, though, admit that due to the time it took to pass the measure and the confusion that arose in several of the floor debates, the final passage of the bill was not the thunderous victory they had hoped it would be. But they claim too much emphasis has been placed on the Levitas amendment. "The real story here," says Jay Hedlund, a lobbyist for Common Cause, "is that the House didn't dare follow Reagan." Freeze opponents, he notes, never offered the substitute amendment, endorsing Reagan's arms policy, which was passed by the House last August. "Although some freeze opponents like Jack Kemp and Robert Michel said the measure was gutted," a spokesman for Representative Ed Markey notes, "they still voted against it—and President Reagan the day after the vote called the resolution fundamentally flawed."

Many of those representatives who voted for weakening amendments eventually voted for the freeze, notes McCornack. "In the end they could not bring themselves to vote against the freeze," he says, "because they would have to answer to their constituents." Now the freeze campaign will tackle the Senate, where there is less support for the freeze. "We're hoping for a quick vote, by July 4," says McCornack. "We're not confident of victory. But there are a lot of senators who need to be put to the test."

—David Corn

Four Greenpeacers hiking to test site

Greenpeace Tests Campaign

■ In the wake of a recent direct action at the Nevada Test Site by four of its members, Greenpeace U.S.A. has announced plans to step up an international campaign calling for the immediate suspension of all nuclear weapons tests and the resumption of negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT). "We're concentrating on the test site because it's an important symbolic location through which to address the testing issue," says Eric Fersht, disarmament campaign director at Greenpeace.

Four members of the Greenpeace campaign—two Europeans and two Americans—were arrested on April 20 as they left the grounds of Nevada's Mercury Nuclear Test Site after a four-day occupation that confounded federal authorities and possibly delayed detonation of a British underground blast. Officials, who at first denied Greenpeace claims that the four were on the grounds of the site, later conducted a costly, and unsuccessful, 24-hour helicopter search for the group. Barbara La Court, a coordinator at Greenpeace's Boston office, says that the group sought by direct action to publicize not only environmental and health dangers but that the "testing directly fuels the arms race."

Peace Activists Protest Basing Cruise In Boston

■ Boston-area peace activists have announced the beginning of a campaign against possible deployment of cruise missiles in the city's historic harbor. The cruise missiles, which can be armed with strategic nuclear warheads, will be placed on the U.S.S. *Iowa*, a battleship that heads a seven-ship Navy "Task Force" fleet to be based in either Boston, New York City or Newport, Rhode Island. A spokesman for the Navy in Washington confirms that "it is reasonable to presume" that 48 cruise missiles—32 Tomahawks and 16 Harpoons—will be based on the *Iowa*.

While the Navy is not expected to make the announcement of its choice until July 15 at the earliest, Massachusetts appears to be the front runner, according to Joe Gerson of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Gerson is heading a coalition of community, labor and peace organizations opposing the deployment. "We don't want the fleet here, nor do we want it based anywhere else," he adds. Similar coalitions are forming in Rhode Island and New York.

Disarmament activists were startled to learn that the impressive coalition of political and business leaders assembled by Governor Michael Dukakis to push for the basing of the fleet in Boston included freeze proponents Representative Edward Markey and Senator Ted Kennedy. Doug Waller, an aide to Markey, explains that the fleet's presence in Boston would create about 3000 civilian jobs and bring about greater nuclear stability by "spreading out naval bases rather than concentrating them in one area." He adds: "Where you place missiles that are already built is not as important as freezing the production of new ones." A *Boston Globe* editorial recently supported the harbor-basing and charged that "even with the cruise missiles [the fleet] would not make Boston any more of a Soviet target than the presence of MIT [Massachusetts Institute of Technology] already does." Doug Waller agrees. "If there's a war," he says, "let's face it—Boston's going anyway."

Local activists, however, view the fleet proposal as a direct slap at the public. A "Jobs With Peace" referendum passed in the city with 72 percent of the vote in 1981, and the state passed a nonbinding freeze resolution with 74 percent of the vote last year. **—John Demeter**

PHOTO BY PIERRE GLEIZES/GREENPEACE

PEACE ACTIVIST JAILED

Trust-Busting Soviet Style

On June 4, 1982, when the Group to Establish Trust between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., the "unofficial" Soviet peace group, was holding its first press conference in Moscow, Alexander Shatravka and Vladimir Mishenko were in the Tyumenski Oblast, a mineral-rich region in western Siberia. They carried with them a petition already signed by more than 100 persons, which called for world peace, nuclear disarmament and a four-sided dialogue among the people and the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The petition included an outline of the goals and principles of the Group to Establish Trust, with which Shatravka and Mishenko were loosely affiliated. It was in no way anti-Soviet, but rather corresponded with official government views in many fundamental ways. Nevertheless, after gathering 17 signatures at one collective farm, Shatravka and Mishenko were arrested. Shatravka disappeared without a trace for six months. Mishenko remains missing.

On April 26 Shatravka went on trial in Moscow, charged with disseminating deliberately false statements which defamed the Soviet state. He was found guilty and sentenced to an as-yet undetermined term in prison.

A RISKY STEP

When they left Moscow last June, Shatravka and Mishenko were taking a risky step. In Siberia they would be isolated and without recourse to underground news channels and the Western press. Literally anything could happen to them and no one would know.

Virtually all of the Western correspondents in the Soviet Union are located in Moscow. Travel outside of the capital region is forbidden for them, and the average Soviet citizen, without special permission. As a result, what happens outside of Moscow is extremely difficult to learn about, impossible to verify. Yet Shatravka and Mishenko went to Siberia to engage in one of the rarest and most dangerous of activities in the Soviet Union: collecting signatures, in public, on an unofficial petition.

When Group to Establish Trust members Sergei Batrovin and Oleg Radzinsky were arrested last year their cases made news internationally only because they were in Moscow. Following their arrests in Siberia, Shatravka and Mishenko received no such attention.

After Shatravka disappeared, his wife, Anya Gordinenko, waited apprehensively in Moscow for news, but was not idle. She wrote letters to every Soviet ministry in an attempt to discover his whereabouts, but received no replies. Then one day last autumn she was visited by a man who said he had befriended Shatravka in a psychiatric prison in Tyumenski Oblast. Shatravka, he told her, had been charged with anti-Soviet agitation, and all 17 farm workers who had signed his petition were called in to local police headquarters to substantiate the charge and to repudiate their signatures on the document. Sixteen of them complied and were immediately released; the other was interrogated, held for a while, and then let go.

Four or five days later, the authorities were knocking on Anya's door, and the first of two floor-to-ceiling searches of her apartment began. No reason was provided by the plainclothes officials who undertook a comprehensive search for pornography, weapons and anti-Soviet literature.

But the search, according to Anya, was not without its lighter moments. One agent, in his investigative zeal, seized upon a box of tampons, triumphantly holding aloft the illustrated directions. "Pornography!" he exclaimed, as the other agents gathered around to examine the prize. Anya says that when she revealed the true nature of the instructions, his face reddened. "How was I to know? It could have been plans for making a bomb," he protested. The box of tampons was nonetheless impounded.

Anya was to discover that her problems had only just begun. She lost her job as a tour guide in a rare "lay-off" (limited to her). She received no replies to her letters to the Tyumenski Oblast judicial authorities. Finally, in November, she was allowed to send registered parcels of food to her husband, through judicial channels, the receipts of which convinced her that he was still alive.

Apparently not content with the evidence they had been able to amass in the Tyumenski Oblast, the authorities brought Shatravka back to Moscow, Anya later learned, where a special psychiatric board of inquiry was convened to determine the state of his mental health. None of his family or friends was informed of the inquiry, which was held in utmost secrecy to prevent news leaks to Western journalists. The inquiry into Shatravka's history turned up several facets of his past behavior that were deemed sufficient to confine him in an unidentified psychiatric "facility" for an undisclosed period of time. (He was sent to the Serbski Institute of Psychiatry in Moscow some years earlier after an attempt to cross the border into Finland.)

Shatravka had now been detained without formal accusation or trial for more than three months, in clear violation of Soviet law. Anya pointed this out in a letter to Yuri Andropov, in which she also suggested that judicial authorities in the Tyumenski Oblast were excessively zealous in their search for anti-Soviet activities. She correctly pointed out that the Group to Establish Trust endorses the same goals as the government: peace and nuclear disarmament. Nothing came of the letter.

Increasingly distraught, Anya turned to her friends in Moscow for food, money and moral support. Friends would look after her young son and feed him while she sought work and made the endless rounds of Soviet ministries, trying to obtain permission at least to exchange letters with her husband. The responses were frequently callous and cold, and inevitably negative.

STALIN'S WEDDING CAKE

In late November, a mutual friend suggested that Anya talk to me about her husband's plight. The talks were to be secret, with a two-fold purpose: further publicity for the Group to Establish Trust and publicity for Shatravka, whose trial still had not taken place. She agreed to the meetings.

A non-approved meeting with a Soviet citizen must be staged with extreme care for the protection of all concerned. The time and place must be arranged through a trusted go-between, never on the telephone. The journalist must create a plausible story about where he is going in order to throw his watchdog secretary and driver, assigned to him by the Soviets, off the trail. No notes should be taken, because that would attract unwelcome attention and intimidate an already nervous interviewee. Speaking to Western

Shatravka's wife Anya: "We will continue to struggle"

reporters is not illegal, *per se*, but it frequently results in a trip to local police headquarters to "discuss" the matter.

Journalists put their already tenuous positions on the line when they meet with unapproved Soviet citizens. The message is clear: If you want to cover Moscow, stay clean and don't take chances. Limit your clandestine meetings. Thus it was with considerable trepidation that Anya and I met to discuss her husband's imprisonment.

Our first meeting, on November 29, was in front of the Ukraine Hotel in Moscow, an architectural nightmare known as "Stalin's wedding cake." I looked on a lively and intelligent face; Anya's eyes showed little of the suffering and anxiety she had endured. The story unfolded as we trudged, arm in arm, across the frozen Moskva River. She told me that this was the end of her old life. In talking to me, a Western journalist, she had crossed the point of no return and would become a social pariah. From now on, she would have no choice but to dedicate her life to one pursuit—freeing her husband and then leaving the country. It was a choice she made freely.

For several minutes, we talked about the various options for publicity. Anya interrupted me in mid-sentence with a glance at a well-dressed man who had been following us for some time. Like most women whose husbands have been arrested, she had an uncanny ability to sense when she was being followed. Suddenly, she changed the subject; I found myself in the middle of a debate about the Kirov Ballet.

The man, aware that he had been noticed, faded away. We walked and talked for 30 minutes more, then set a date for another meeting. Anya gave me a laboriously handwritten copy of the Group to Establish Trust's appeal for a dialogue with Western peace groups, kissed me on both cheeks, Orthodox style, and left.

A week passed before I saw Anya again. A repeat of our first "walk" was mutually felt to be unwise, in light of our having been trailed so closely. When we did meet, she handed me a written version of the story she had related to me. Copies were circulated among reporters in Moscow, and eventually the story somehow found its way out of the country to the Voice of America (VOA) in Austria, which then beamed a critical analysis back to the Soviet Union in early December.

Anya was not pleased that VOA was the only organization to pick up her story; she had hoped for Western-directed publicity. The consequences of the VOA editorials were immediate. The Soviet news agency TASS denounced the Group to Establish Trust and the "fabrications of the Voice of America."

Anya pointed out to me subsequently that public opinion in the Soviet Union is not a force for righting social injustice and supporting human rights, as it can be in the West. The suppression of the Group to Establish Trust is, for the Soviets, she said, merely one more example of official hypocrisy. Anya sees irony in the very title of the Group to Establish Trust between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. because the Soviet government does not even trust its own citizenry. Nevertheless, she commented that, "The issue is too big to ignore. And we must start somewhere."

The last time I saw Anya, in January of this year, she was still hoping to learn the date of her husband's trial. She was more tired, frustrated and disappointed than when I first met her. The Soviet authorities treat her discourteously, as if she were a traitor, and most Western reporters greet her invitations to press conferences with a rather ho-hum attitude. Two major U.S. newsmagazines refused to print a story about the Shatravka case because they did not consider it breaking news.

Talking with Anya in mid-April by telephone, I learned that Shatravka had managed to get a letter out of the psychiatric prison to his wife. According to the letter, he has been threatened with beatings, and sadistic guards have suggested that he would be put in with violent sexual psychopaths. A week or so later he was sentenced to prison. It is not known whether Mishenko, whose whereabouts remain a mystery, was tried with Shatravka.

Anya says that she continues to hope and work for the release of her husband, although frequently gnawed by fear and self-doubt. But "we will continue to struggle," she told me. "We only hope you won't forget us." **—Mark H. Bowers**

Mark H. Bowers worked for Newsweek *in Moscow as an interpreter and a stringer.*

E.P. THOMPSON

Trying To End World War II

In February, 1980 the British civil defense department produced a classified pamphlet, entitled Protect and Survive, *designed to be distributed if a nuclear war became imminent. When the brochure was leaked to the press it sparked a public outcry. In response, E.P. Thompson, a noted social historian and a critic of the arms race, wrote* Protest and Survive, *a pamphlet that attacked British nuclear policy and became a rallying point for the European peace movements.*

At about the same time, Thompson cofounded the Committee for European Nuclear Disarmament (END), and he drafted the committee's platform, the END Appeal.

Since then Thompson has gone on to become the leading spokesman of the British nuclear disarmament movement. He is a member of the coordinating committee of END and of the national council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the umbrella coalition for the British peace movement. Irrespective of title, Thompson is regarded as the elder statesman of the European movement, one of its leading thinkers and strategists. With Dan Smith he edited a collection of essays on nuclear policy, named after his Protest and Survive *pamphlet (Monthly Review Press). Last year Pantheon published* Beyond the Cold War, *a collection of Thompson's writings, lectures and speeches on the arms race.*

Most recently Thompson has sparked a controversy by calling on the peace movement to pressure the Soviet Union to loosen its grip on its client states, to open frontiers, to allow the flow of ideas and people between East and West, and to cease harassment of independent Soviet peace groups. In a piece published in The Nation *in February, Thompson explained this policy and provoked a debate in which writer Norman Solomon accused Thompson of adopting a Cold War position.*

Professorial in manner, Thompson draws on expertise ranging from movement strategies to strategic doctrine (as well as English history and William Blake). One imagines he would make a good debater. When Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger withdrew from a debate on foreign policy with Thompson, scheduled to be held at Oxford University in May, it was because the British government feared Thompson would best Weinberger in the televised confrontation, according to some press reports.

The following interview was conducted by David Corn, associate editor of NUCLEAR TIMES.

What has been the reaction of the European peace movement to Reagan's proposed "interim solution," which calls for a lesser number of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles to be deployed in return for reductions in Soviet SS-20 missiles?

I think President Reagan and certainly some of his advisers are laboring under a very great misperception. They appear to think that whether or not these missiles come is a matter for the United States to decide. It is not. The missiles may be President Reagan's gift, but the territory of Europe still remains sovereign.

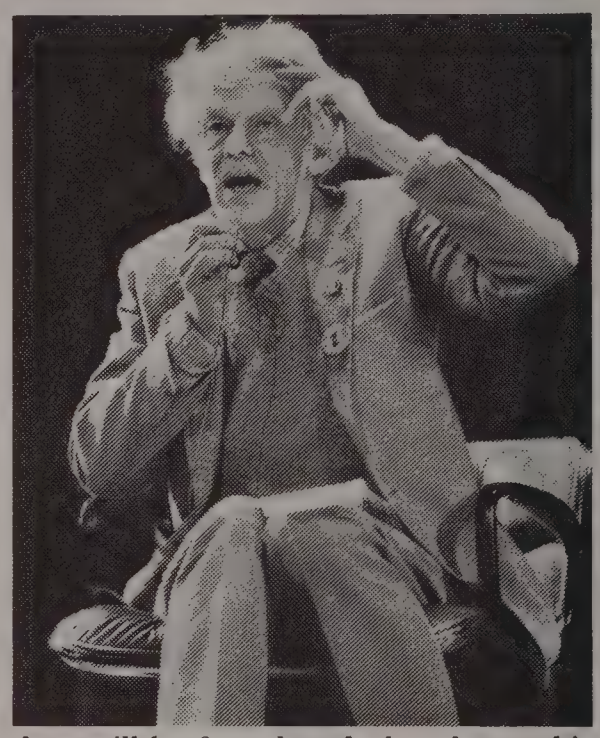
The determination of the European peace movement—made two years ago, long before the present negotiations—is that this is non-negotiable. We have an unqualified refusal. Therefore, if President Reagan should succeed in negotiating a compromise agreement with the Soviet Union, the European peace movement will not countersign it. It has been determined by us that not one additional missile will come except across our protesting bodies. Whatever agreements the superpowers make, we shall continue to make those sites inoperable. Our calendar imposes the next 12 months as the months of confrontation. There is no backing down from this confrontation.

What's going to happen come December if some cruise and Pershing 2 missiles are deployed? How is that going to affect the British movement?

The first question is what will be the results of the June 9 election. If Mrs. Thatcher is returned, that would be a defeat for the peace movement. And it would perhaps isolate some of the peace activists from majority opinion. But they will continue to protest the missiles. There is no question, no way they won't. We would need a very thorough political discussion at that point and decide what our strategy will be. The other alternative might be that we will succeed in winning the election or getting a hung parliament. I think that the probable government might be a coalition that opposes the cruise.

I'm not sure how things will work out. British opinion polls show anything from 56 to 60 percent against the cruise. But Mrs. Thatcher has a populist constituency gained during the Falklands war. And the polls show a conservative lead.

The CND has been fighting this election. On every weekend we have canvassers out in every district in order to make the missile issue the number one issue in the election. Every single candi-



date will be forced to declare her or his position on the missile question. And some of the Greenham women are standding as candidates.

Let's be optimistic and say the Euromissiles are not deployed this year. That leaves the SS-20s. What are the movement's specific strategies to pressure the Soviet Union for removing SS-20s?

There are a lot of discussions going on among the nonaligned movements. If in fact West European nations refuse cruise and Pershing, we would certainly expect and press for an immediate recognition and concession from the Soviet Union, in terms of a reduction in a number of SS-20s. And we will press for this very hard.

The nonaligned European peace movement has been shouting at the Soviet Union for a very long time to stop building its SS-20s because its SS-20s have been the best argument to use against the West European peace movement. Every single new SS-20 has been an argument against the peace movement.

If the Soviets refuse to grant these concessions, would that destroy a lot of political sup-

PHOTOS BY STEVEN BORNS

port for the peace movement?

Possibly not, in the sense that the whole balance game has become unreal to so much European opinion. The whole game of arguing in terms of numbers and balance has bored so much European opinion, since it is done over their heads, and since there is power enough to destroy the continent over 20 times. I think that might be less significant than any measures of repression of civil rights or peace movements in the East. That does destroy a lot of support.

Will there be a turn toward more civil disobedience and direct action, as we get closer to the December deployment deadline? Is this an effective tactic?

Direct action can be divisive if it gets into the hands of a minority of people who are motivated by adventurism or sensationalism. These can snap back. At the

moment the movement is united in supporting this method of disuasion among many others. But it is trying to limit the actions to ones which are responsibly conducted and well supported.

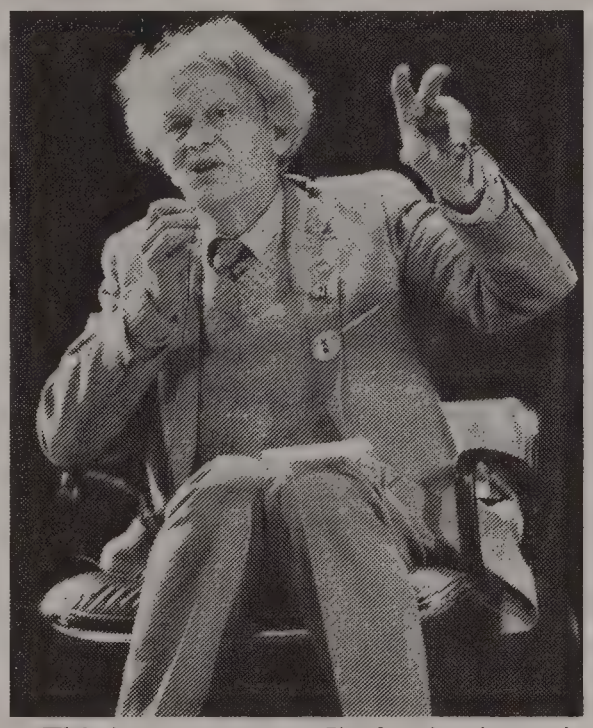
If it comes to the point when NATO begins to bring cruise missiles to the deployment sites—the political solution has failed—do you anticipate tens of thousands of people actually blockading the way?

I'm not an officer of CND so I cannot give you an official answer. This will be discussed. I think it probable that a strategy like this will be adopted. I think, however, that to maintain tens of thousands of people in an action, week after week, is logistically very difficult and it is more likely to be symbolic actions on distinct days.

If the missiles come, we will continue to protest. A cruise missile site is basically a garage. When there is some sign of imminent danger, these launchers are supposed to be taken out of the garage to a site within a radius of 100 miles from it. This is a crazy scenario, because it means that the satellites of the other side see this happening and they launch a preemptive strike. Comiso and Greenham are absolutely psychedelic super-Pearl Harbors, sitting there with all their stuff, targeted from the other side. But the idea is that [the missiles] should be moved out along the jammed-up, confused roads of Sicily and England, which we shall block.

It has come to the point that a sufficient number of Europeans have decided that somewhere at some time, and at some place, people will not just have conferences and meetings and church synods and so on, they will actually be an opposition. It has to be us.

You have said that if massive civil disobedience occurs, there is the possibility of a fortification of the national security state and, consequently, internment camps. Is that truly a possibility a year from now?



This is a worst case. I'm hoping it won't happen. This would happen only in the event of a Thatcher election victory. If she is returned to power in the coming election, she would then say she had a national mandate to bring these missiles in, whatever public opinion polls showed on this issue. She would then, I think, introduce emergency legislation, which would strengthen the official secrets act, give more powers to the police and the military, and which may—and I don't want to put ideas in her head—create some offense of "incitement" that would be applicable to the national spokespersons and leaders of the movement. Since this calendar of opposition has been so self-concentrating in spiritual terms—three years of expectation have built up and built up—a very large number of activists will not be silenced by such measures. They will continue in their actions.

I find it difficult to see how they could use the existing over-crowded British prison system to deal with that measure of opposition. They would probably have to consider some kind of temporary internment.

By 1989 the United States plans to have about 6500 air-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles, most probably assigned to the European theater. Has there been too much emphasis placed on the ground-launched cruise missiles scheduled for deployment in Europe?

Yes, the ground-launched missiles have become involved in political symbolism. They are very visible, far beyond their actual military function. The ground-launched cruise missile has no special virtue militarily that is not also found in cruise missiles that are sea-based. We've been warning people about this. We've been raising this question since 1981, and it's been raised especially strongly in the North Atlantic seaboard nations: Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Scotland, perhaps Ireland, where the floating platforms will be in the North Atlantic. Understanding of this problem is not very well disseminated yet.

The European movement has as its final aim a reunited, nuclear-free Europe. You have said repeatedly the task is to break up the blocs and put Europe back together again, East and West . . . .

This is my strategy, not END's. I'm going a bit further than the European movement.

I think this scheme is wholly to the advantage of the American and Soviet people. The purpose of maintaining heavy military forces on constant adversarial alert in Europe is not a question just of the United States and the Soviet Union being on Europe's back, but Europe being on your backs. This again is something that cannot be one-sidedly resolved. You are not going to get the Soviet troops and bases withdrawing from Eastern Europe short of war, and you are not going to get U.S. troops and bases withdrawing from Western Europe without [reductions] in the East. So it has to be a mutually-phased agreement.

Ultimately, one would look somewhere to the late 1980s and 1990s for the initiative to come from the United States and the Soviet Union themselves for a summit meeting at which this was on the agenda.

You have said we must go beyond the missiles to the Cold War itself, to the political launching pads. Are you asking for more than most antinuclear activists assume needs to be done?

Situated as we are in Europe in a continent that is slashed through the middle by an arbitrary line, with one nation slashed in half—the German nation—with one city, Berlin, slashed in half by a wall, it is impossible for us not to regard the question of making peace in political dimensions. We can't confine ourselves only to halting weaponry, although halt-

ing weaponry may be the first, essential precondition for a political process of thaw, renewal, and healing the tissues of our political culture. A perfectly practical goal for the year 2000 is the end of World War II. Why not? It's already 38 years.

It seems the political and ideological debate within the European movement is rising in its degree of sophistication, especially in reference to how to deal with the Soviet Union. Some of this has spilled over to the United States. Can the uninitiated or those within the movement who are not so attuned to all the ideological nuances grasp all this?

What the grass-roots activist in Britain and maybe West Germany now is feeling is that we are offering unqualified refusal of the missiles. And so we are presented by our opponents as performing the Soviets' job for them. There is a deep sense among the grass-roots activists that they will like to see some concessions made by the Soviet Union to Western peace opinion, not to Western governments.

It is part of the political relations, the peace relations in Europe now. People are saying this is where we are: We are quite unqualified in our resistance, but it in no way helps us that the hard-liners in the Soviet Union and the Soviet military continue to harass independent movements and make alarmist and threatening speeches that are aimed at the Western military, but are not making concessions to Western peace opinion.

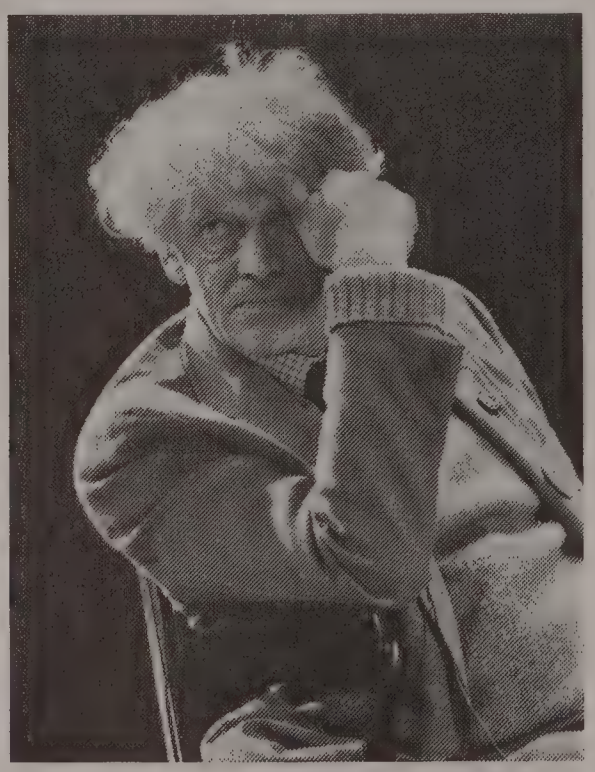
Now we understand that the hawks on one side strengthen the hawks on the other side. And we understand that the hard-liners in the Soviet Union are paying more attention to what Reagan or Thatcher say than to what the women of Greenham Common are saying and doing because we don't have power. We can't promise to deliver the goods. Nevertheless, we are looking for ways in which to signal very strongly to the Soviet Union that we are not a captive pro-Soviet movement and that we require concessions on their side.

What can those concessions be?

In one way or another, we would like some action and not just talk about the SS-20s. Their numbers could be brought down *now* before cruise and Pershing come. All we would like is explicit statements from the Soviet Union that in the event of the Western peace movement succeeding in halting cruise and Pershing deployment, there would be reciprocal action on their side, by reducing their SS-20s. We also would like them to stop playing these games of trying to influence or get hegemony over the Western peace movement. These attempts are totally unsuccessful but are creating dissension and division in Western Europe. Leave us alone.

What games are these?

You may have noticed that in a recent booklet brought out by the Soviets that outlined their opposition to cruise and Pershing deployment, they accused the nonaligned peace activists of bringing the "Cold War spirit into the peace movement." They clearly think in 1950ish ways. That group on top there now still very much resents the fact that the Western peace movement in the main is not



pro-Soviet, is critical of civil rights policies in the East, and is planning to establish direct links which are not authorized with citizens in the East.

But there is also this problem with the Prague assembly [to be held June 15-19, sponsored by the World Peace Council—which Thompson calls "a Soviet-oriented body"—and others]. Unfortunately, we have to spend a lot of time discussing this bone of contention, which is very divisive. Some people—and they're my friends and colleagues—think maybe we ought to go because one has got to talk to whomever one can talk to. Some people are determined that we shouldn't go. In my view, the positions that the Western peace movement takes up on Western missiles is a Western affair and we don't need any instruction from their side about this at all.

What I would say—and I can't speak with authority, but I know this is being discussed—is it might be useful to have a completely unpublicized, very frank meeting with these quasi-official peace committees in the East, particularly the Soviet one. And to really try and to have out in the frankest possible way our different strategies. And see if we can get through to them the importance of a concession, a thaw on their side. We're not going to break down the Cold War only by freezing missiles. There must also be this thaw in direct citizens' exchange and relations.

I think the Western peace movement should say, first, it is the principle of peace that people across all national divides must be able to talk to each other.

It appears that the Soviets are taking a hard line against your position linking human rights and peace. How will this affect the independent peace groups there?

I think we are in the middle of it, and don't know the outcome yet. It is very complicated. I don't think all of our hopes for citizens' relationship with the Soviet Union can hang on these small groups. They're symbolically important, but there are huge other sections of Soviet opinion that one might reach. And I have to say—I don't like saying it—that we have to try to do that irrespective of what happens to these small groups.

In the U.S. movement there are a lot of people who still accept the theory of deterrence, albeit at drastically lower levels of weaponry than exists now. Does END totally reject the notion of deterrence?

I personally think it is rubbish. It's a very low-level theory which has no guarantee against breakdown. But I think we have to live with the fact that not only are the weapons there, but that people believe in the theory.

The majority opinion in the Western peace movement does not seriously advocate that either the Soviet Union or the United States should unilaterally get rid of their own nuclear weapons. Morally this would be admirable, but realistically it's not going to happen. We do press both sides for the removal of one or two systems—a unilateral initiative by action.

This is much in line with Charles Osgood's GRIT theory, which was published in the early 1960s. The idea of this is a downward ratchet. Instead of endless, fruitless negotiations, you take out one system—and then you close the ratchet and wait for a reciprocal response from the other side. You get a reciprocal response and then you bring the ratchet down again. This theory was very influential on the British Church's recent working paper on nuclear weapons.

Defense community strategic thinking is based on worst case and, consequently, accelerates the worst case. It brings on the weapon systems to answer the hypothetical worst case on the other side. What we are trying to do is to imagine a practical better case and work in political terms toward it.

But as for deterrence, the Greenham Common women wouldn't have any time for it at all. They would probably say it is a male-chauvinist-pig construct. But you would get a lot of different replies from

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

different segments of the movement. Please remember that we are as pluralistic as the American movement.

In 1981 you said that the individual peace movements in Europe were all just fragments of a common score. Is that still the case?

I sometimes look at humanity and despair. If we were a firm producing soda water or even bicycle clips perhaps we would have more resources and desks than we do as a peace movement. Our offices are overcrowded and understaffed. To build an international infrastructure requires a lot. The individual movements do meet and consult. We're far from being a unified movement, but consultation is improving all the time.

What does the American freeze campaign look like from the movement's perspective in Europe?

We want the freeze. What we're doing in Europe makes no sense unless we can get a freeze. If we stop the cruise and Pershing and drive the number of SS-20s down they [may] just bulge out sidewards in new kinds of SS missiles and in new aircraft-launched cruise missiles and floating missile launchers in the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic.

Do you have any advice for the U.S. movement?

I feel good about it. But you must have all kinds of wrinkles and problems of your own. All movements do. I'm impressed not with just the way you have raised the movement and peace consciousness, but with the new kind of internationalism that is being discussed here.

I do see one problem that I did not see so clearly before coming to the States this spring, which is your movement, like those in other nations, has limited resources. There is now a competition for resources between various peace issues. Resources are needed for the campaign against the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, as part of a European request, as well as for the situation in Central America, which is a claim to solidarity and resources against U.S. interventionism. If resources are unlimited, you can say let's work on both. But since they are not, I can see it creating tension and the need to make choices. Central America is more distant to Europeans. It is very difficult to see what we can do about it.

Occasionally I find an unrealistic voice in the United States who tries to separate nuclear weapons from other issues. That is not possible. But one must be very careful in peace organizations and not try to commit the people within them to other kinds of policies. But if the rumors are true that Soviet hawks might want to place missiles in Nicaragua, then the freeze movement would find itself involved in a political issue concerning Central America. Whether it wants to be or not. □

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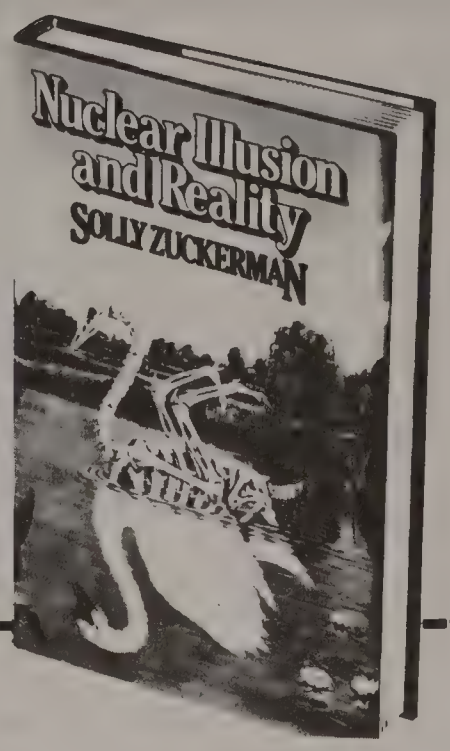

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BY FRED KAPLAN

Pentagon Policy: Out To Launch?

It was a short-lived story. On April 8, *The New York Times* reported that Lieutenant Colonel John Politi, deputy director of the Air Force MX program, had told the Chamber of Commerce in Laramie, Wyoming, that the Scowcroft Commission on Strategic Forces—which had not yet delivered its MX-basing proposals to President Reagan—was going to recommend that the United States adopt a policy of "launch-on-warning." This means that in the event of warning of a Soviet nuclear attack, the United States would launch its own land-based missiles before the Soviet warheads exploded over American soil.

As it turned out, Politi was wrong. When the Scowcroft report was released three days later, there wasn't a word about launch-on-warning.

But in another sense, Politi was right. The United States is increasingly, and very quietly, moving toward a policy—supported by new technologies—that makes launch-on-warning much easier and, thus, in the event of a crisis, all too tempting. During the latest debate over the MX, many Democrats said that placing the missiles in "vulnerable" silos, as Reagan proposed, would only add to this temptation. In testimony before a Senate committee on May 5, General John Vessey, Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger admitted as much, when they stated that our missiles would only be vulnerable "if we ride out the attack."

During Senate Armed Services Committee hearings on February 24, 1982, Senator Sam Nunn asked Richard DeLauer, undersecretary of defense for research and engineering, for his views concerning launch-on-warning. DeLauer replied: "I disagree with it as national policy," but then added, "On the other hand, we should not be completely free of that concept. I would like to demonstrate that we have that capability, so that indeed the Soviets would have to consider it."

The idea is that if the Soviets believed that a first-strike aimed at our ICBMs would hit only empty holes they would be much less willing to contemplate such an attack. Thus, this reasoning continues, a launch-on-warning policy—or at least capability—strengthens nuclear deterrence.

James Schlesinger was the first secretary of defense to articulate this thesis back in the Nixon-Ford period. In a series of changes of the military's nuclear war plans (known as the SIOP, for "single integrated operational plan"), Schlesinger ordered—among other things—that there be an explicit option for "launch on warning" or "launch under attack."

The argument for this option was reinforced during the Carter Administration, when Defense Secretary Harold Brown wrote in his first posture statement, dated February 1978, that "the Soviets would face great risks and uncertainties" in any attempt to launch a first-strike. For example, he said, "they would necessarily have to consider whether the U.S. missiles would still be in their silos when the attack arrived . . . ."

At this point, a peculiar logic began to take over. Pentagon officials, keen on new electronics and satellite technology, argued that if the Soviets were indeed to be further deterred by this possibility, we would have to show them that we really did have the ability to launch on warning quickly and intelligently.

It's not simply a matter of sending your missiles flying when the buzzers go off. You need radars and sensors that can determine precisely where the Soviet missiles are heading (so you know which of your own missiles you have to fire), from what silos the Soviet missiles were launched (so, in retaliating instantly, you don't hit empty holes), and so forth.

DeLauer said the same thing in those 1982 hearings. Speaking about launch-on-warning, he noted, "You have to make this thing work in order to make it credible. If you do not make it work, you have lost deterrence. There lies the philosophical point."

There also lies the technological point. The Reagan Administration has embarked upon a whole series of new command-control-communications-intelligence gear (known in the trade as C^3I, pronounced C-cubed-eye). Many programs began under Carter, but they are being accelerated by Reagan. The programs include an upgrade of the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS), involving sharper resolution of computer cells to better predict where Soviet missiles will hit; similar improvements to the Pave Paws radar sites in California and Cape Cod, to detect launching of submarine-based missiles; a new system called IONDS (for Integrated Operational Nuclear-Detonation Detection System) which, according to Pentagon testimony, will "refine the assessments of attack size and objectives."

In part, these programs are designed to facilitate the notorious "protracted-nuclear-war" policy. If we and the Soviets are going to be "exchanging" nuclear volleys for days, weeks or months, the commander must know what is going on, which targets are destroyed and which are left to be destroyed. To do all this, these new C^3I systems are essential.

But they are also essential for launch-on-warning, and several Administration officials privately admit that this is part of the plan.

However, the essence of this option is its uncertainty. It seems superfluous to establish an elaborate and rather expensive network designed to make the option seem "credible" or "robust."

It is also dangerous. During a recent 18-month period, suspicious signals popping up on radar screens at U.S. air defense stations prompted, on 147 occasions, what are known as "missile display conferences" to evaluate the threat. There was little panic. The international scene was calm at the time; the Soviets had not put their forces on alert; not every radar screen revealed a potential attack.

But what if some day the alarm bells ring falsely and there *is* a crisis in the works, the superpowers' forces *are* on stepped-up alert—and the United States (or, for that matter, the Soviet Union) has a launch-on-warning policy and an elaborate technological network in place to implement it? Then such a policy and such a network will have turned out to be not merely superfluous but catastrophic. □

ILLUSTRATION BY BLAIR THORNLEY

BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

How To Win A Pulitzer Prize

The Pulitzer Prize committee has made its share of mistakes in recent years, but when it bestowed a national reporting award on *The Boston Globe* a few weeks ago for a special 56-page supplement on nuclear weapons published last October, it couldn't have chosen more wisely. For the *Globe* has consistently provided some of the best coverage and most thoughtful editorial comment on the arms race of any daily newspaper in the country. And how that came to be is in itself a fascinating story.

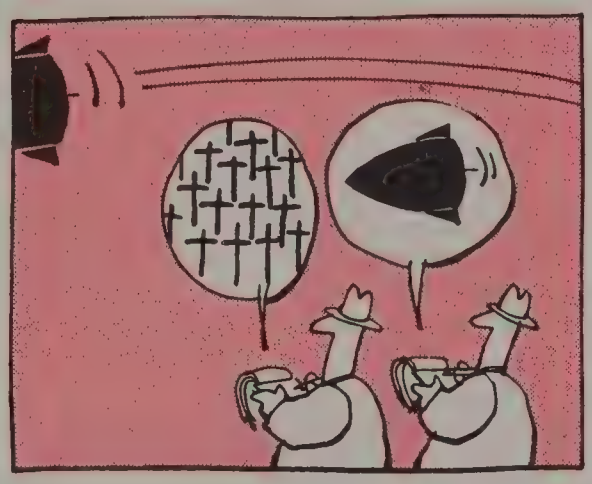
A daily newspaper, like its front page, is a composite of many influences. It reflects the character of the community it is in, the political views of its owners and editors, and the often competing voices of its staff. The *Globe*, which has been privately owned by the same family, the Taylors, for more than a century, has carried the banner of liberalism in Boston longer than anyone can remember. But until two years ago, the *Globe's* coverage of nuclear weapons issues was as desultory as that of most newspapers.

Then, beginning in early 1981, a series of developments conspired to transform the *Globe's* approach to what is arguably the biggest story of our time. Perhaps the most unusual of these, though not necessarily the most influential, was the formation of a study group by Dr. Jonathan Fine, former chairman of the executive board of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), and Richard Knox, a science reporter for the *Globe*. Both men wanted to get a dialogue going between people on the newspaper staff and individuals in the Boston area who were concerned about the Reagan Administration's nuclear weapons policies. "My agenda," Knox recalls, "was to become more conversant with the issues and to expose people at the *Globe* to what was going on."

The study group, which met every six weeks or so on Sunday afternoons, had 15 regulars, including two members of the newspaper's editorial board, and Helen Caldicott, the president of PSR. Often, guest speakers knowledgeable about particular aspects of arms control were invited to attend. Being near Cambridge and at the hub of so much antinuclear activity meant that one didn't have to travel far to find expert advice.

The group continued to meet throughout most of 1981, and, while it is difficult to measure its impact on the paper, both Knox and Fine believe it served as a catalyst for change. Certainly, during this time, the paper's coverage began to improve. Michael Janeway, who had been editing the *Globe's* Sunday magazine, was put in charge of the Focus section in early 1981. A former editor of *The Atlantic* and a special assistant to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Janeway had a keen interest in arms control and opened up the paper's pages to a wide range of opinions on the subject.

At about the same time, the staff of the editorial page was reshuffled, and Randolph Ryan, a former Wesleyan College administrator, was given a tryout. Ryan soon carved out a niche for himself writing editorials about national security issues. Although he had no special expertise in the field, he approached the task, he says, like learning how to fly: "It seemed impossible at first, but once I mastered the six or eight discrete parts, the subject wasn't so mysterious."



Ryan saw his job as one of educating his readers, much as he had educated himself, and the results were dramatic. He wrote dozens of editorials on everything from the freeze (which he welcomed as a "positive first step") to the Reagan Administration's defense posture ("nuclear war-fighting chic") to Caspar Weinberger's "Chicken Little view" of the Soviet threat. Compared to some of the editorials on similar subjects in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, Ryan's efforts were models of sanity.

Not all the changes at the *Globe* came from the bottom up. The paper's liberal editor, Thomas Winship, hardly needed to have his arm twisted (though he was reportedly quite moved when Helen Caldicott screened *The Final Epidemic* for him). Nor did the Taylor family need much persuading. Early in 1982, William O. Taylor, the current publisher, and other family members approached Janeway with an idea for a special supplement on nuclear weapons. "They spurred us," Janeway recalls. "They said if we could pull it all together, they'd go for it."

The supplement that Janeway pulled together over the next six months ended up costing the Taylors somewhere in the vicinity of half a million dollars. It was lavishly illustrated with four-color drawings and photographs. Janeway decided to use *Globe* staff writers instead of outside experts and take a "we-go-to-school approach" to the subject. He pulled sports reporter John Powers from the World Cup soccer matches to write the lead piece—an historical overview of the arms race—and assigned other articles to Fred Kaplan, who had recently come aboard as the *Globe's* Washington-based defense correspondent, State Department reporter William Beecher, staff writer Christina Robb, and Randolph Ryan.

The special section, titled "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," appeared as part of the Sunday paper on October 17, 1982. Circulation jumped 28,000 that day, but, by any measurement, the supplement was an impressive piece of work, a primer for the uninitiated and the already committed alike.

Although the *Globe* was nominated as one of three finalists for a Pulitzer Prize for public service, at the last minute the review board that makes the final decisions switched it to the national reporting category. (One of the other contenders was a series on the consequences of atomic testing that ran in the *Dallas Times-Herald*.) But in whatever category the supplement deserved to win, the real credit belongs to all those, both inside and outside the paper, who played a role in raising the consciousness of the *Globe*.

For Dr. Jonathan Fine, who believes his study group had a small part in all this, what happened in Boston ought to serve as a model for other cities around the country. "The transformation has been phenomenal," he says. "It's thrilling to see what a newspaper can do when reporters and concerned citizens get together." □

ILLUSTRATION BY LEN MUNNIK, COURTESY OF "IFOR REPORT"

BOOKS & TELEVISION

Mass-Marketing Cold War Thrills

On Sunday evening, March 20, approximately 43 million television viewers in America witnessed the nuclear destruction of Charleston, South Carolina, caused by terrorists demanding unilateral disarmament. The villain in the NBC movie, *Special Bulletin*, was a Dr. Lyman, former strategic weapons planner at the Pentagon who allied himself with a band of peace activists and criminals.

Menacing Charleston with a homemade nuclear bomb placed on board a ship just off the coast, Lyman demanded that the detonating modules from all 986 nuclear warheads in the area be delivered to the Charleston docks so they could be taken out to sea and destroyed. As the clock ticked off the minutes to disaster, the U.S. government swung into action with "Operation Deadbolt." In exactly two minutes and 41 seconds, the Delta Team Commandos secured the ship on which the terrorists were stationed—a feat reminiscent of the Israeli raid on Entebbe airport in 1976. Just when viewers felt certain that the Nuclear Emergency Search Team (NEST) would succeed in disarming the bomb, it exploded, devastating Charleston.

After the broadcast, NBC affiliate stations around the country received hundreds of phone calls from viewers who were worried that the program was an actual newscast. Maybe they have been reading too many books.

VERISIMILAR VIEWS

While *Special Bulletin* is fiction, nuclear terrorism as a by-product of the Atomic Age is fact. The U.S. Defense Nuclear Agency's budget for terrorism-prevention devices increased ten-fold in the last five years, from $1 million in 1977 to $10 million today. NEST, based in Las Vegas, Nevada, has assisted in 20 cases in which the danger of a nuclear bomb exploding seemed real. One of the cases was not a hoax. A former employee of a Wilmington, North Carolina, nuclear plant obtained spent fuel and demanded $100,000 before he was apprehended.

Like any form of science fiction, nuclear fiction derives its best material from contemporary news stories. The closer the fiction seems to reality, the scarier and more suspenseful it becomes. "Nail biting" thrillers often reach a wider audience than a news clip on the same subject. For instance, NEST was formed in 1975, but many people were unaware of its existence until they watched *Special Bulletin*.

Readers of nuclear fiction, on the other hand, learned about NEST three years ago when Larry Collins and Dominique LaPierre wrote about nuclear terrorism in *The Fifth Horseman*. In their account, NEST is called into action when Libya's Muammar Qaddafi threatens to blow up Manhattan with a thermonuclear bomb if the United States does not persuade Prime Minister Begin to withdraw Israelis from the occupied territories. Begin does not move his people, but this piece of historical fiction moves quickly, adapting itself well to the terrain of the Middle East crisis.

The Fifth Horseman works on one level as pure, escapist entertainment. There is a hero in the character of Angelo Rocchia, a New York City detective who bears the burden of knowledge of the nuclear threat while the rest of Manhattan carries on life-as-usual. When he is not escorting FBI and NEST agents around the streets of Manhattan, Rocchia finds time to romance a *New York Times* city hall reporter.

There is glamor in the character of Linda Nahar, also-known-as Laila Dajani, a model by day, and a Libyan terrorist by night, who aids her brothers in planting the nuclear bomb in a deserted warehouse in Greenwich Village. (Rocchia uncovers the bomb in the moments before it is set to explode.)

With their cast of imaginary and real characters, Collins and LaPierre raise, quite believably, the possibility of a nuclear crisis developing out of the hostilities brewing in the Middle East. On June 7, 1981, a year to the day after the publication of *The Fifth Horseman*, Israeli planes bombed and destroyed an atomic reactor near Baghdad that would have enabled Iraq to manufacture nuclear weapons. The Iraquis, like the Libyans in *The Fifth Horseman*, relied on technology imported from France to produce their nuclear equipment.

OFF BEAM?

In another prophetic book, Robert Moss' espionage thriller, *Death Beam*, the fictional subject was the Soviet Union's impending deployment of a ground-based particle beam weapon. Less than two years later President Reagan announced his plan to escalate laser and particle beam weapon research. While U.S. scientists have projected a skeptical attitude about the practicality and strategic wisdom of Reagan's missile plan, Moss' bestselling thriller argues for both the feasibility and political necessity of such a plan.

In Moss' novel the Soviets have already perfected their ultimate, treaty-defying weapon, *Razrukha* or Death Beam. It is capable of destroying the entire Northeast corridor. According to a Soviet defector, Death Beam will be unleashed in short order. The American "Blue Savior" antiballistic missile research program is underway at Los Alamos, New Mexico, but the chances of sending up a killer satellite in time to attack Death Beam are not good. Moss' message is clear: the United States will have little chance of surviving Soviet aggression unless we hold on to the lead in the nuclear arms race.

Robert Moss, for those who don't remember, co-authored *The Spike*, a book which portrayed a Soviet spy-training, front organization that was widely thought to be modelled closely on the Institute for Policy Studies. (The *New York Times* newsroom was depicted as a place where editors "spike" or kill any articles that intimate the truth about the U.S. government—that it is infiltrated at almost every level by Soviets.) In *Death Beam*, Moss once again pits the forces of communist evil against the forces of democratic good. Moss employs a device, that could be called "the morality factor," to tip the scales of fortune in favor of the forces of good.

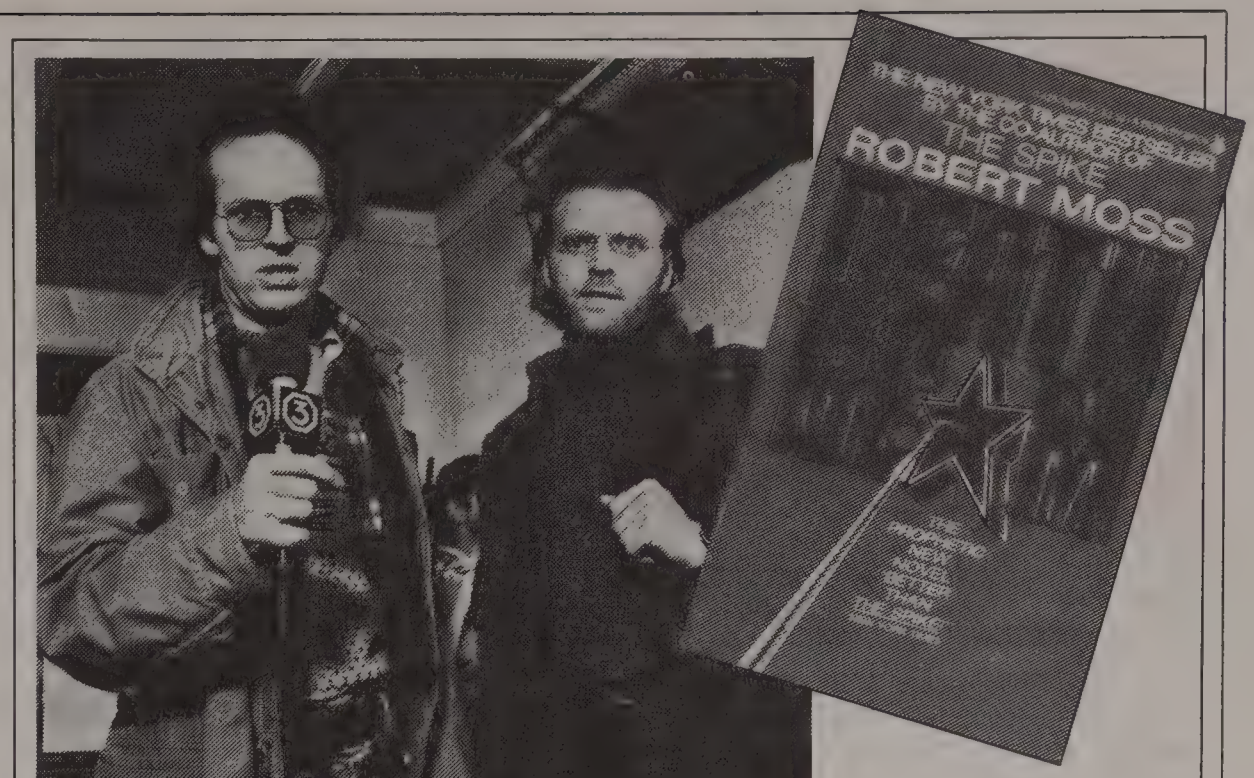
Klaus Milstein is the Soviet scientist who created Death Beam. While he *is* a dreaded Soviet, he is also Jewish, and therefore susceptible to moral suasion. A young Israeli woman is brought to Milstein and succeeds in converting him to the "good" side. In the final moment, Milstein decodes the particle beam weapon before the Soviets can use it for a first-strike.

Robert Ludlum's *The Parsifal Mosaic*, which has topped the *New York Times*' paperback bestseller list for months, also employs the morality factor to save the world from the Soviets.

Using a common theme, *The Parsifal Mosaic* shows the lunacy of a high gov-

ernment official as providing an almost-final push toward all-out nuclear war. Anton Matthais is the "brilliant but mad" U.S. secretary of state who has used pieces of classified information to play a deadly chess game with Parsifal, a Soviet double agent, or "mole." The U.S. President in the story claims that the two men are playing a game involving "detailed references to the most secret weapons in our arsenals. Locations, activating codes, specifications, logistics—information that men would be labeled traitors for revealing, their lives ended in prison. . . ." Matthais is not put in prison, however, but in an exact replica of his Georgetown home on an island off the coast of Georgia where he won't set off any immediate alarm signals, and where he won't advertise to the rest of the world that the U.S. secretary of state is stark, raving, mad.

Ludlum's hero, Michael Havelock, works both for and against the CIA to find Parsifal before the game is given away to the Soviets and the Chinese. The morality factor comes into play in the humanistic bond between esteemed pupil Havelock and revered teacher Matthais. Havelock has lost his mentor to the forces of insanity (read: forces of communist evil), but draws on lessons taught to him by Matthais to save the world from nuclear destruction by the Soviets.



Unilateral disarmament terrorists in NBC's drama, "Special Bulletin," evoke the same fears that are aroused by nuclear pulp fiction

SELLING SIMPLIFICATIONS

The effect of these bestsellers on the public perception of the nuclear war threat and Soviet/U.S. relations is unknown. It would be an insult to readers to suppose that these books are being taken as utterly serious accounts of the way the world works. On the other hand, that the real-world is used as a stage for melodramatic struggles between forces of good and evil does suggest a dangerous simplification of complex international relations. In almost all of these nuclear thrillers it is the Soviets who aggressively plot a nuclear attack and the Americans who are forced to circumvent their villainous plan and save the world from disaster. *The Fifth Horseman* is a rare exception in that it presents a plausible scenario of an international crisis erupting in an act of nuclear terrorism.

In one current bestseller by Peter Niesewand, *Fallback,* it is only through an incredible feat of medical science that the United States is able to circumvent Soviet preparations to launch a first-strike by computerized missiles. American doctors transplant the brain of a dying computer wizard into the muscular body of a well-trained CIA agent and send one perfect operator to an underground city in the Urals to frustrate the Soviets in their deadly schemes against the United States.

Of all the high-powered thrillers on the mass-market paperback racks, Douglas Terman's *First Strike* is perhaps the most bald in its anti-Soviet dogma. Clifford Welsh, a liberal senator from New York, becomes the perfect puppet of Yuri Andropov, then-chairman of the KGB. After noting Welsh's "No" vote on the B-1 bomber and MX missile bills, Andropov concludes that Welsh has shown a convenient "bias toward unilateral disarmament." As red-baiting, Terman's account of how a liberal U.S. senator is blackmailed by the Soviets to advocate disarmament in his presidential campaign even outdoes the *Reader's Digest* article President Reagan cited in his allegations that the freeze had Soviet ties.

The crucial difference is that when Reagan expresses such ideas they have a readily identifiable political intent. In fiction, however, where readers are more in the mood for unfettered entertainment than for political pronouncements, they can get caught off-guard. The political message emanates from a less authoritative source than the President, but its effect is more visceral, perhaps more psychologically lasting.

BALANCING THE PICTURE

First Strike ends with a Soviet spy explaining on his death bed, "This is simply the beginning of a final resolution of power between Russia and the West. The first strike, you might say." The book concludes with the assertion that the Russians have more "hidden bombs" ready to explode.

There is no escape from this sense of imminent threat in the world of espionage thrillers. Social and political structures seem to exist only to provide the flimsiest housing for the shadowy characters that are our world leaders. The real movers are undercover agents, double agents, and larger-than-life saviors. Because the "good guys" are raised to a mythically heroic scale, belief in the power of the "morality factor" is not the ultimate message. If one were to draw a serious conclusion from the books, it would be that a plan of escalated armament is the only appropriate response to the looming Soviet threat.

The nuclear destruction theme which has prevailed in espionage thrillers for at least the last decade is now beginning to appear on the television screen, reaching an even wider American audience. NBC's *Special Bulletin* was probably the first in what will be a long line of nuclear suspense dramas. Two weeks after NBC aired *Special Bulletin,* CBS presented *Return of the Man From U.N.C.L.E.*, in which foreign agents threatened the United States with a stolen nuclear bomb.

As nuclear fiction becomes more and more prevalent, the opportunism of writers, publishers and producers, who know that xenophobia sells, is likely to increase. Responsible authors such as Larry Collins and Dominique LaPierre are badly needed to balance the picture. While the thriller genre might not be a serious one, the subject of nuclear destruction is.

—Susan Kellam

Susan Kellam is a freelance writer in New York.

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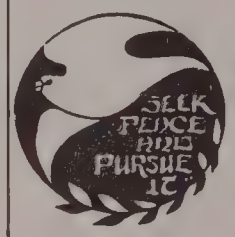

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GOOD READING

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Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N. Euclid Ave., Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 449-9430.

ACTION

FIGHT REAGANOMICS

ACORN, grassroots organization of low and moderate income families in 26 states, needs organizers to build neighborhood groups. Issues include jobs, housing, health care, neighborhood deterioration, etc. Help build an organization that fights back and wins. Training provided.

Contact Kay Jaeger, ACORN, 117 Spring, Syracuse, NY 13208 (315) 476-0162.

Charlotte NC Clergy & Laity Concerned meets 1st Tuesday each month, noon, Myers Park Baptist, 1900 Queens Rd. Peace Forum. Contact: *Rev. Art Kortheuer (704) 376-8441*

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•CALENDAR•

NATIONWIDE EVENTS

AID FOR U.S. HIBAKUSHA

A medical team of radiation specialists from Japan will be giving free medical diagnoses to American survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings at clinics on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Anyone who was within the city limits or *in utero* during the bombings or the following two weeks, or has regularly come into contact with other *hibakusha* is eligible to participate. The itinerary is: **San Francisco,** June 10-12, Univ. of California Medical Center, *Contact:* Rev. Nobuaki Hanaoka (415) 387-1800; **Los Angeles,** June 18-21, City View Hospital, *Contact:* Dean Toji, (213) 824-4335; **Seattle,** June 25-26, Seattle Public Health Hospital, *Contact:* Japanese American Citizens League, (206) 623-5088; **Honolulu,** July 1-3, Queen Emma Clinic, Queen Medical Center, *Contact:* Izumi Hirano, (808) 422-1489.

EUROPEAN UNIONS AND PEACE

• From June 11 to 19, six high-ranking trade unionists from Britain, West Germany, Italy and Sweden will tour 13 American cities to talk with U.S. trade unionists about peace and its related economic issues. *Contact:* Gene Carroll at the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 305 Massachusetts Av, NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

PEACE FILM COMPETITION

• The Center for Peace in Columbus, Ohio, is holding a nationwide competition for 16 mm documentary films to be shown at a film festival, August 26-28 in Washington, D.C., as part of the events surrounding this August's March on Washington on the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. The deadline for entry forms is July 15 and for the films is July 21. *Contact:* Madeleine Glynn Barnes, St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, 30 W Woodruff Av, Columbus, OH 43210 (614) 294-3749.

JUNE 5

NEW YORK

• **Albany** Nonviolence training workshop to prepare for a civil disobedience action at Knolls Atomic Power Labs on an as of yet undisclosed date, in solidarity with International Disarmament Day. *Contact:* Working Group for Nonviolent Action at Knolls, 221 Central Av, Albany, NY 12206 (518) 434-4037.

JUNE 6

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Talk by Bishop Thomas Gumbleton on the pastoral letter; St. Paul the Apostle Church, 10750 Ohio Av. *Contact:* Catholic Peace Coalition, (213) 828-4245.

SOUTH DAKOTA

• **Statewide** Julie Loesch, national coordinator of Prolifers for Survival, will be giving a series of talks, "Nukes and the Next Generation," in the following cities: **Sioux Falls,** June 6; **Watertown,** June 7; **Aberdeen,** June 8; **Hoven,** June 9; **Mitchell,** June 10; **Yankton,** June 12. *Contact:* Carolyn Osborne, (605) 331-5819.

JUNE 7

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Charlotte** Peace forum; Myers Park Baptist Church, 1900 Queens Rd, *Contact:* Rev. Arthur Kortheuer, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 224 Providence Rd., Charlotte, NC 28207 (704) 376-8441.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Talk, "Living with the Bomb," by Paul Loeb, author of *Nuclear Culture;* Kane Hall, Rm 210, Univ. of Washington. *Contact:* Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

JUNE 8

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Symposium on the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter. *Contact:* Kathleen Smith, Catholic Archdiocese Justice and Peace Center, (206) 762-4224.

JUNE 10

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Johnstown** Registration deadline for southwestern Pennsylvania regional skills workshops for beginning and experienced activists promoting a nuclear freeze. Topics include public speaking, fundraising, political action and media. *Contact:* Pennsylvania Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 900 S Arlington Av, Harrisburg, PA 17109 (717) 545-1710.

JUNE 11

CALIFORNIA

• **Oakland** Disarmament rally; Mosswood Park, Broadway at MacArther Blvd. *Contact:* Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Av, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 644-3031.

COLORADO

• **Fort Collins** Entry deadline for "Art of Peace '83," a juried show of literary, performing and visual peace artwork (June 18-July 9). Open to all artists over 16; entry fee is $5. $1000 in prizes will be awarded. For prospectus, send SASE to Dan Feldman, 628 Laporte Av. Ft. Collins, CO 80521 (303) 484-2268.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Premiere of the film, *In Our Hands,* a documentary about last year's June 12 rally, to benefit the August Jobs, Peace and Freedom March in Washington; Main auditorium, Univ. of the District of Columbia. *Contact:* Richard Garrison, SANE, 711 G St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-8388. The film's **New York** premiere will be June 12 at the Beacon Theater, 2124 Broadway. *Contact:* Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, 225 Lafayette, New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-7921.

NEW MEXICO

• **Albuquerque** The Kirtland Air Force Base, Sandia Labs, a site of nuclear weapons research and development, and the Air Force Weapons Laboratory, where laser and particle beam weapons research is done will be the focus of protest and educational activities, through June 20, including rallies, forums, workshops, marches, a film festival, poster exhibits and spiritual services. On **June 20**, there will be a civil disobedience action at Kirtland AFB. *Contact:* Citizens Against Nuclear Threats, 106 Girard SE, Room 121-C, Albuquerque, NM 87106 (505) 268-9557, or Kent Zook, (505) 842-6093.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Luncheon meeting with the national leaders of Women Strike for Peace, Ethel Taylor and Pat Gross; Community Church of New York, 40 E 35 St. *Contact:* New York WSP, 799 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212) 254-1925.

VERMONT

• **Weston** Ecumenical conference, "Nuclear Arms and the Local Church"; Weston Priory. *Contact:* Gordon Halstead, (802) 824-6596.

JUNE 12

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Preliminary attempt of "Hands in Peace," which eventually hopes to have over five million people link hands in an unbroken line from Washington, D.C. to San Francisco. *Contact:* Academy for Peace Research, Center Hill Rd, Plymouth, MA 02360 (617) 224-3696.

NEW YORK

• **New York Area** Ten-mile Freeze Walk-a-thons will begin from various locations around New York and the neighboring counties. *Contact:* Downstate

International Day Of Nuclear Disarmament

The Livermore Action Group, in cooperation with the national office of Mobilization for Survival, has called for June 20 to be a day of coordinated protest, including civil disobedience (CD), around the world to resist nuclear arms and power, militarism, and their social and ecological consequences. The following list of events in the United States is only a sample of what will take place. For up-to-date information about these and other actions, contact LAG, 3126 Shattuck Av, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 644-3031, or MfS, 853 Broadway, Rm 2109, New York, NY 10002 (212) 533-0008.

JUNE 11

MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** Human chaining of Williams International Corporation, which manufactures engines for cruise missiles; Walled Lake. *Contact:* Michigan Alliance for Disarmament, Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 (313) 995-5871.

JUNE 18

CONNECTICUT

• **Groton** Legal rally during the commissioning ceremony of the third Trident submarine, *U.S.S. Florida.* **June 19:** Day of workshops, films and nonviolence training. **June 20:** CD at Electric Boat shipyard. *Contact:* Trident Nein, Box 411, New Haven, CT 06502 (203) 562-7935, 848-3607.

OREGON

• **Ashland and Grants Pass** "Rogue Valley Walk for Nuclear Disarmament," a three-day walk from Ashland, a nuclear free zone, to Grants Pass, where there will be a rally at the Litton Systems plant on **June 20.** *Contact:* Peacehouse, PO 524, Ashland, OR 97520 (503) 482-9625.

VERMONT

• **Burlington** Music and rally, with Grace Paley, Dave Dellinger and others. On **June 20,** there are plans for a CD at the General Electric plant in Burlington. *Contact:* Burlington Peace Coalition, 52 N Winooski Av, Burlington, VT 05401 (802) 658-6289.

JUNE 20

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** CD blockade of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories. *Contact:* Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Av, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 644-3031.

• **Santa Monica** Women's CD action at the Rand Corporation; Ocean Av at Colorado. *Contact:* Patty Litwin (213) 399-1705.

FLORIDA

• **St. Petersburg** Nonviolent CD at entrance to the General Electric Neutron Devices Plant. To participate, contact by **June 6** the Immanuel House Peace Community, 5600 68th St N, St. Petersburg, FL 33709 (813) 544-1954.

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** CD blockade of the Northrop plant in the suburb of Rolling Meadows. *Contact:* Disarm Northrop Action Coalition, 407 S. Dearborn, No. 370, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 427-2533.

IOWA

• **Cedar Rapids** Rally and leafletting of workers at the Rockwell-Collins facility. *Contact:* Cedar Rapids Catholic Worker, 1027 5 Av SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52403 (319) 362-9041.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Westborough** Statewide rally and CD against the MX at the GTE plant, which is helping to develop the communications system for the MX. *Contact:* Traprock Peace Center (413) 773-7427, or, in the Southern Berkshire area, Bernard Kirchner (413) 229-6677.

NEW MEXICO

• **Albuquerque** CD at Kirtland Air Force Base. *Contact:* Citizens Against Nuclear Threats, 106 Girard SE, Rm 121-C, Albuquerque, NM 87106 (505) 268-9557, or Kent Zook, (505) 842-6093.

TEXAS

• **Amarillo** Vigil at the Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant. *Contact:* Northwest Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned, 2031 C.S. Hughes, Amarillo, TX 79107 (806) 373-8668.

WISCONSIN

• **Madison** CD at the Army Math Research Building, Univ. of Wisconsin at Madison, where mathematical research related to nuclear and space weapons is done. *Contact:* Peacemakers, 315 W Gorham St, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-2852.

New York Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 351 E 74 St, New York, NY 10021. Hotline: (212) 249-8097.

JUNE 13

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Week-long Bay Area Artists for Nuclear Disarmament festival, "Renaissance in the Nuclear Age," including: photography exhibit, through June 20, at 20 X 20 Gallery; painting and sculpture exhibit, June 15-20, at Southern Exposure Gallery; theater, dance, poetry and music, June 16-17, Theater Artaud; comedy and cabaret, June 18, The Women's Building; theater and dance, June 20, New Performance Gallery; and street theater all week. *Contact:* Tom Cross, 519 Guerro St, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 552-7304.

JUNE 15

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Haverford** National Women's International League for Peace and Freedom biennial open meeting, "Women United in Action for Peace," through June 19. *Contact:* WILPF, 1213 Race St. Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

JUNE 17

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Retreat on the topic of civil disobedience, led by Daniel Berrigan, through June 18; Davis Mothan Air Force Base, where personnel are being trained to use the cruise missile. *Contact:* Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 445 E 4 St, Tucson, AZ 85705 (602) 623-7951.

TEXAS

• **Amarillo** Annual gathering of the Texas, New Mexico and Oklahoma Peace and Justice Network, through June 19, followed by a vigil on June 20 at the Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant. Rev. C.T. Vivian will give a talk on nonviolent direct action; Mt. Zion Baptist Church. *Contact:* Steve Schroeder, Northwest Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned, 2031 C.S. Hughes, Amarillo, TX 79107 (806) 373-8668.

JUNE 18

NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** Justice and Peace Film Festival, including *Atomic Cafe*, *If You Love This Planet* and others; Kiewet Center. *Contact:* New Covenant Justice and Peace Center, 1717 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 345-0539.

JUNE 19

FRANCE, SWITZERLAND

International march for disarmament from Paris, through W. Germany, to Geneva where it will conclude in demonstrations August 6-8. *Contact:* L'Alliance Internationale pour le Desarmement, 60 Rue Rebeval, 75019 Paris, France. Tel: 245-15-08.

JUNE 20

MICHIGAN

• **Ann Arbor** Week-long International Student Pugwash Conference, "Science, Technology and Global Responsibility," with 30 speakers, including Ruth Adams of *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Leonard Woodcock, former ambassador to China and Herbert Scoville, Jr, formerly of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the CIA; Rackham Auditorium, Univ. of Michigan, through June 27. *Contact:* Michael Berger, IPPS, 1516 Rackham Bldg, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 (313) 763-4212.

NUCLEAR FREEZE BACKLASH
The "National Nuclear Weapons Association" Holds its First Meeting...
SOMEBODY HAS GIVEN NUCLEAR WEAPONS A BAD NAME.
EVERYONE ASSUMES THEIR ONLY USE IS TO KILL PEOPLE. WHAT ABOUT LEGITIMATE SPORTING USES?
...AND COLLECTING? WE IN AMERICA LIKE TO COLLECT THEM.
AND PROTECTION. SURE THEY'RE DANGEROUS TO HAVE AROUND. SO ARE KITCHEN KNIVES. SHOULD WE FREEZE KITCHEN KNIVES?
IF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE OUTLAWED, ONLY OUTLAWS WILL HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
NUCLEAR WEAPONS DON'T KILL PLANETS, PEOPLE DO.
SO, WE GET RID OF THE PEOPLE?
YOU MUST WANT TO JOIN!
TOLES

JUNE 24

ALABAMA

• **Birmingham** Southeastern regional organizers' workshops on militarism and racism; Miles College. *Contact:* Clergy and Laity Concerned, 222 East Lake Dr, Decatur, GA 30030 (404) 377-6516.

JUNE 25

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Biennial convention of the American Association of University Women, including workshops on peace and national security, with Randall Forsberg; San Francisco Civic Auditorium and the Hilton & Tower Hotel, through June 29. *Contact:* Mary Boyette, AAUW, 2401 Virginia Av NW, Washington, DC 20037 (202) 785-7731.

JUNE 28

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference for educators on the American bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear weapons; Fordham Univ. at Lincoln Center, through June 30; cost: $50. *Contact:* Justice/Peace Educational Council, (212) 371-1000, ext. 2565.

JULY 3

CALIFORNIA

• **Philo** Conference, "Journey in Peacemaking: Considering the Role of the Peacemaker in Today's World," with workshops on the Soviet Union, the military budget and the New Testament. Leaders include Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Dorothy Grenada and Rev. Natalie Shiras; through July 6. *Contact:* Wellspring Renewal Center, P.O. Box 332, Philo, CA 95466 (707) 895-3893.

JULY 4

GREAT BRITAIN

Protests throughout Britain at U.S. Air Bases. *Contact:* CND, 11 Goodwin St., London, N4 3HQ. Tel: 01-263-0977.

NEW YORK

• **Seneca Falls** Opening of the Women's Peace Encampment at Seneca Army Depot, to "challenge the nuclear threat at its doorstep." All women are invited to join. *Contact:* Donna Cooper, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

JULY 6

W. GERMANY, HOLLAND, BELGIUM

Women's peace march, from Dortmund, Germany, to NATO headquarters in Brussels, via Holland, through August 6. *Contact:* E. Bentfeld, Finckstrass 8, 4600 Dortmund 1, W. Germany.

JULY 7

NEW YORK

• **New Rochelle** Clergy and Laity Concerned National Assembly, "We Still Have A Dream: Jobs, Peace and Freedom," through July 11; College of New Rochelle. *Contact:* New York CALC, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212) 964-6730.

JULY 10

VANUATU

Port Vila Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference, through July 20. *Contact:* U.S. Nuclear Free Pacific Network, 942 Market St., Rm 711, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 434-2988.

JULY 14

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Easton** War Resisters League 60th Anniversary National Conference, through July 17; Lafayette College. *Contact:* WRL, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

JULY 16

ENGLAND

London Human chain protest between the U.S. and Soviet embassies. *Contact:* CND, 11 Goodwin St., London, N4 3HQ, England, Tel: 01-263-0977.

JULY 19

CANADA/UNITED STATES

Peace walks, July 19-27, to protest the testing of cruise missiles in Alberta, Canada, and cruise and Pershing 2 deployment in Europe. One group walking from Kingston, Ontario, and another from Thousand Islands, New York will converge on Griffis Air Force Base in Rome, New York, where the B-52s that will launch the test cruises are based. *Contact:* Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project, 821 Euclid Av., Syracuse, NY 13210 (315) 475-4822.

JULY 24

CANADA

Vancouver Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, through August 10. *Contact:* WCC, U.S. Conference, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2533.

JULY 31

SWEDEN

Gothenburg Triennial International Congress of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Women Save the World," through August 6. *Contact:* Libby Frank, WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

Compiled by Walter Lew

Thanks to everyone who mailed us Calendar information. The deadline for submitting July events is June 3.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS IN THE UNITED STATES

The events listed in this calendar are only a small selection of what is happening abroad this summer. Contact the U.S.-based people and organizations below for developments in each of the regions listed:

The Pacific, including Micronesia, the Philippines, Australia and Japan: Pacific Concerns Resource Center, PO 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827 (808) 538-3522; U.S. Nuclear Free Pacific Network, 942 Market St, Rm 711, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 434-2988; Campaign Against Military Intervention in the Phillipines, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212) 964-6730.
England: Pam Solo, American Friends Service Committee, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.
Italy: U.S. Friends of Comiso, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212) 964-6730.
The Netherlands: Mike Jendrzejczyk, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.
West Germany: Action Reconciliation/ Services for Peace, c/o Interaction Center, 4920 Piney Branch Rd NW, Washington, DC 20011 (202) 723-8273.
Women's Peace Camps: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

CARTOON BY TOM TOLES

•RESOURCES•

NEW BOOKS

Open Skies: Eisenhower's Proposal of July 21, 1955. By W.W. Rostow (University of Texas Press, $10.95 paper). Rostow played a major role in formulating Eisenhower's 1955 proposal to the Soviets at the Geneva summit meeting—a plan for the United States and the Soviet Union to exchange blueprints of military installations and to allow mutual overflights (in hopes of reducing fear of surprise attack and encouraging disarmament). Khrushchev immediately dismissed the plan as "a bald espionage plot against the U.S.S.R." Like the Baruch plan of 1946 for the international control of nuclear energy, the story of *Open Skies* details another near-miss in the disheartening history of arms control.

Present History: On Nuclear War, Detente, and Other Controversies, by Theodore Draper (Random House, $17.95). This collection of essays by a member of the Council on Foreign Relations is particularly hard on the Reagan Administration's plans for a winnable nuclear war, the "mortally ill" NATO alliance and the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East.

Over Our Dead Bodies: Women Against the Bomb, edited by Dorothy Thompson (send $7 to cover cost and shipping to Virago Press, 41 William IV Street, London WC2N 4DB, England). Like her husband, E.P. Thompson, Dorothy Thompson is a historian who is active in the European peace movement. This eloquent collection includes women journalists, historians, poets, novelists, and activists. Two of the best pieces focus on women in the British defense industry and the protesters at Greenham Common.

Beyond the Nuclear Freeze, by Robert F. Drinan (Seabury Press, $7.95). The former congressman, now professor of arms control and disarmament at Georgetown University Law Center, attempts to formulate policy goals that will extend the peace movement's aims beyond a simple freeze, and will attempt to grapple with the worldwide nuclear and non-nuclear industry. He sees reason for hope in the Catholic bishops' opposition to nuclear weapons, and urges the election of a Congress that will defund all nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Fix: A Guide to Nuclear Activities in the Third World, by Thijs de la Court, Deborah Pick, and Daniel Nordquist ($9.95, including postage, from WISE/Third World Distribution, 25 Powers Park, Barrett, MN 56311). Although the American nuclear industry is failing, many Third World countries are busy building reactors. According to this guide's foreword, any country with nuclear reactors "is accumulating plutonium on its territory that could be used in nuclear weapons." About 260 reactors are operating in 25-30 countries, all producing "about 30,000 kg. of plutonium a year: theoretically enough to produce an atomic bomb of the Nagasaki type *every three hours*" (their emphasis). This sobering rundown devotes an essay to each country's involvement in domestic and research reactors, as well as its contracts and agreements involving nuclear technology.

The State of War Atlas, by Michael Kidron and Dan Smith (Simon & Schuster, $9.95). This book uses cartographics to limn the economic, industrial, and commercial aspects of the international military complex, and to provide a chilling history of the arms race and the nuclear threat. Among its 39 annotated color maps are ones illustrating wars throughout the world since 1945, the nuclear stockpile, military satellites, armed forces throughout the world, Cold War alliances, and nuclear weapons accidents.

The Nuclear Hostages, by Bernard J. O'Keefe (Houghton Mifflin, $14.95). A naval officer who worked on the Fat Man bomb that was dropped on Nagasaki provides a vivid account of his days at Los Alamos. Currently chief executive officer of a Fortune-500 high-technology company, O'Keefe takes a strong stand against the superpowers' policy of mutual assured destruction (MAD), and argues that it is the responsibility of the United States to initiate cooperation with the Soviets.

The New High Ground: Strategies and Weapons of Space Age War, by Thomas Karas (Simon & Schuster, $14.95). A timely and well-written exposé of the current effort to develop space weapons and strategies for their use by the small cadre of "spacemen" within the Air Force who are dedicated to the creation of a separate space force command. Karas concludes that space weapons will provide no military security or superiority and will not work as a mechanism to halt the arms race. Rather, they will needlessly escalate tensions and further reduce our lead in civilian space technology by diverting resources to military applications. **B.K.**

FILM

The Time Has Come ($55 rental from American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102). This series of interviews with peace activists in the United States, Japan, and Europe includes, among others, a social worker from East Harlem, a banker from Rhode Island, a plant worker from Georgia, a lay church-worker from California, and a legal services attorney from Nebraska—all of whom gathered in New York for the rally last June 12. The documentary will be aired on many local PBS stations on or around this June 12; check your local listings.

BOOKLETS

How to Make Your Community a Nuclear Free Zone ($5 from Peace House, PO Box 524, Ashland, OR 97520). America's largest legally established nuclear free zone, Ashland, Oregon, has put together a booklet telling how to raise funds and support for a similar campaign in your community. The booklet includes press clips that illustrate the range of editorial opinion that the Ashland effort inspired.

International Workcamp Listing, 1982. International Workcamps run projects in Europe, Australia, and the Far East in an effort to promote cooperation and understanding. There are many summer opportunities available. You will be expected to pay your own travel fare, but room and board will be provided. Bring a sleeping bag. For more information and a list of camps, write Volunteers for Peace, Inc., Belmont, VT 05730, or call 802-259-2759.

CURRICULA

What to Tell the Children ($5 from Contemporary Issues Clearinghouse, 1410 South 2nd Street, Pocatello, ID 83201.) An immensely valuable packet of articles on how fear of nuclear war affects children, with lists of organizations, films, books, questionnaires and innumerable suggestions for teachers and parents who want to encourage kids to take positive action.

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1101, Washington, DC 20036) offers a summary of 46 courses on nuclear war, now offered at 37 American colleges and universities. The courses generally cover the effects of nuclear war, the history of the arms race and attempts to control it, and new weapons. A summary of the courses costs $1.50; individual syllabi are $1.50 each, or five for $5.

—Ann Marie Cunningham

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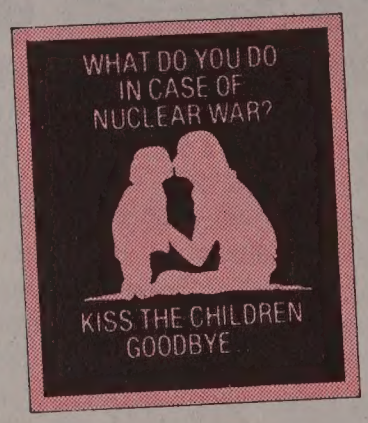
I REFUSE TO BE ONE OF 20 MILLION 'ACCEPTABLE' DEAD!



Mr. President
On orders of your Administration, the Pentagon has completed a new strategic master plan to give the U.S. the capability of "winning" a "protracted" or "limited" nuclear war with the Soviet Union.*

A high-ranking official in your Administration has specified that 20 million U.S. fatalities would represent an acceptable cost.**

I am not a statistic. I and my family refuse to be part of the *20 MILLION ACCEPTABLE DEAD SCENARIO!* We demand, instead, a plan for the **PREVENTION** of nuclear war. Your way dooms us all to extinction.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ zip _____

Los Angeles Times 8/15/82 — inserted in *Congressional Record* 8/17/82 by Congressman George E. Brown. Jr. **Colin Gray & Keith Payne. "Victory is Possible." *Foreign Policy Journal*. Summer-Fall 1980. v. 39-40.

Please join our National **"I REFUSE TO BE ONE OF 20 MILLION 'ACCEPTABLE' DEAD"** Campaign. Cut out and place top message in envelope and mail to President Ronald Reagan, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500. Suggestion: Place photo of family member over the picture in the box if you choose.

In order to give us an accurate count of how many messages have been sent please cut out the bottom message, place in envelope and mail to address at bottom of the page.

I have sent the **"I REFUSE TO BE ONE OF 20 MILLION 'ACCEPTABLE' DEAD"** message to President Reagan.

I wish to continue in this Campaign. Please send me _____ messages for distribution. Enclosed is $ _____ contribution for printing more cards and for placing the message as paid newspaper advertisements.

I am interested in receiving additional educational material and information.

Name _____
Please Print

Address _____ zip _____

State _____ phone _____

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